

SUMMARY
AND THE HERITAGE
OF
THE HEBREW PSALTER

From Luther to the death of Bach

by

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This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no copy or paraphrase of material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

A study which attempts to cover more than two centuries of German psalmody, and to relate it however tenuously to its Hebrew origins, has obvious shortcomings. At best, it can only open up a field of inquiry in which little systematic research appears to have been undertaken. At the worst, it may degenerate into an analysis so fragmentary as to be of no substantial value at any point. In spite of these disadvantages, the period from 1523 through to 1750 was retained, so as to include the beginnings of Protestant hymnody in the songs of Martin Luther, and the end of Lutheran church music as such in the cantatas of J.S. Bach. The writing of German hymns did not begin with Luther, nor did German religious music end with Bach, but the period constitutes an organic whole, in so far as the work begun by Luther as evangelist and founder in the sixteenth century was completed by Bach as disciple and musical symbolist in the eighteenth.

The position occupied by the Psalter in this unique German association of doctrine and music is the subject of the thesis. In Hebrew antiquity, the psalms were sacred lyrics sung within the pattern of the Temple liturgy at Jerusalem, by priestly specialists with a long tradition of training, and to the accompaniment of instruments. The psalm chorales of Luther were fashioned to be sung by the priesthood of believers. Later, when a more subjective idiom was being employed by writer and composer alike, Bach restored the chorale to a position of pre-eminence in the service music of the Church, but surrounded and enriched by the splendours of Baroque polyphony, at a time when Rationalism was already challenging dogma.

Perhaps even more remarkable than Bach's achievement in reconciling the objectively confessional and the mystically personal elements of worship, is the almost exact correspondence found to exist between certain German versions of the psalms and what biblical scholarship from Hermann Gunkel onwards has shown these psalms themselves to mean in their historical context. There is something quite mysterious about this, and the whole subject calls for further investigation. Luther's Feste Burg, with its slender textual reference to Ps. 46, is an example which defies the sober probabilities.

The thesis traces the development of the Bekennnislied towards the Erbauungslied and Pietism, accepting in a rather arbitrary way the Peace of Westphalia as the point of change. The Reformation itself was a declaration of war. Luther's hymns are spoken of as Kampflieder; men had to stand together in a fight. But the horrors of the subsequent physical struggle turned their thoughts inward upon survival after death, and in each camp there arose men whose faith transcended confessionalism. The truth is that both approaches to the writing of religious verse are discernible in both divisions of the period. Similarly, a Hebrew psalmist may use the first person singular when speaking for the nation, or write 'I' and 'we' side by side, without drawing any distinction between them.

(Luther in Germany, 1517)

Die alten Kirchenlieder
O singe sie auf's neu
Und sing sie immer wieder,
Du Volk der deutschen Treu':
An ihren Feuer labe
Dich gern beim Saitenspiel;
Mit diesen Pilgerstabe
Kommst du gewiss an's Ziel.

- Tilike: Vorrede zur Sammlung

Magnificat, 1862.

(Given in Bänker, II, Vorrede, viii)

Wer Gott preist, singt. Wenn er
nicht singt, ist er nicht ergriffen.

- G. van der Leeuw.

(Given in Blume, 400)

THE THESIS

PART ONE:

THE PERIOD OF

THE BEKENNTNISLIED

(1523 - 1648)

THE HEBREW PSALTER is perhaps the finest example in all literature of the order of lyric verse in which the poet speaks for the community, the people as a whole.¹

The German congregational hymn, which draws so extensively on the psalm, is of the same order. Albert Schweitzer, no doubt with his mind full of music, makes a sweeping claim for the hymnody of Gerhardt's time: "Germany, in its bitterest need, created a religious poetry to which nothing in the world can compare, and before which even the splendour of the Psalter pales." 2. In both psalm and Kirchenlied, behind language which has the ring of universality, there can often be heard a single cry, the expression of one man's inward and purely personal experience. The 'I' of the psalms has presented modern exegesis with a complex problem: that of deciding whether the writer is speaking as an individual, or whether he is the voice of the nation's corporate personality.³ In the same way, a study of German psalmody poses the difficulty of establishing some sort of division between subjective and objective attitudes.

Martin Luther made seven psalm versions for church use. If they are related to the types of Hermann

Gunkel's classification of the Psalter, 4. only one, the first, is found to be an Individual Lament (Klagelied des Einzelnen).

(1) Ps. 130: Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir,
(De profundis)

That Luther chose this psalm in particular, to get his people singing, is an apparent contradiction. But his judgment in such matters can generally be trusted. It is really no more surprising that hundreds of like-minded worshippers should stand up and sing clamo, I cry, than that they should say credo, I believe. There is nothing incongruous about Heinrich Schütz's German Magnificat, when two choirs sing the Song of the Virgin in eight parts, Meine Seele erhebt den Herren.

Through Aus tiefer Not, two streams of religious experience run, the intensely personal and the community-conscious. In Ps. 130, with its awareness of sin, Luther found a reminder of his early days of anguish, when he had come close to detesting a retributive God whom he had no possible way of pleasing. His hymn contains doctrine which he himself found difficult. 5. The so-called Great Enlightenment in the tower room at Wittenberg had been a beginning for Luther himself. His adoption of Ps. 130 at this point marked his re-affirmation of its teaching as the only possible foun-

dition on which the Reformation could stand. It became the expression of Germany's new nationhood. It looked back to his own origins as a free man, and it became the mature statement of his hopes for German spiritual liberty. It was the perfect vehicle for making such a twofold act of faith.

Certain unusual features of the Hebrew psalm bring this out with striking clarity. For its writer, the depth means primordial evil, 6. over which Yahweh has triumphed, and from which he alone can save. The psalmist's rebellion against God has thrust him down into the welter of life's dark places, and he cries aloud, in order to be heard. But nowhere does he make rash promises to God, "whose property is always to have mercy." 7. There is no mention of any good works, to make amends for his falling away from God. In the fierce distress of repentance, he recognizes the fact of forgiveness. And this is an ever-present situation. Not in order that God may daily be satisfied with the sacrifices of atonement, but that he may be constantly held in awe. There could scarcely be a clearer exposition of justification by faith alone. Then follows the psalmist's appeal to all his people. 8. This sense of reliance upon God's redemptive power is at the centre of life's meaning for Luther as well as for the psalmist. And it is the one thing which makes Ps. 130 the rallying-call to a nation suddenly alive with a new

consciousness of God.

It is a curious thing that Luther should adduce the Psalter as evidence of his own firm belief in the powers of evil: "David, doubtless, had worse devils than we, for without great tribulations, he could not have had so great and glorious revelations. David made psalms: we also will make psalms, and sing as well as we can..." 9. And it should not be forgotten that contentment always evaded him, until he discovered the meaning of contrition: "I began to look up the passages in Scripture which teach penitence, and soon found my heart flooded with happiness. Words came from all parts of the Bible to sport with me; they laughed and leaped round the phrase." 10.

We may search in vain in Luther's hymn for the spontaneity of such a passage as that, or for the haunting poetry of his Bible prose. Parts of it show him struggling with a rather unmanageable discipline. The language is terse, almost aggressive in its uncompromising directness. And there are moments when it falls over itself:

So therefore hope in God will I,
Nor build on mine own merit;
On him my heart shall still rely,
And trust his gracious spirit. 11.

To put it like that is perhaps unfair to Luther, but it does demonstrate that later objections to the evangelical Stamm -
lieder were valid, at least from an aesthetic standpoint.

It would, however, be hard to deny the superb artistry in the matching of the best lines with their Phrygian melody. It was this remarkable union of text and tune, so unforced and so expressive, which assured the Gebrauchswert of the Luther hymns, and which gave them, as entities, a high aesthetic value of their own. 12.

Aus tiefer Not belongs to the end of the year 1523. 13. As early as 1524, it was appointed to be sung as a funeral hymn, and in 1525 it was used at the burial of Frederick the Wise in Wittenberg. Its appropriateness needs no explanation. "Belief in the forgiveness of sins is the one and only thing which can console men when face to face with death." 14. But this was possible only after the Psalter had become a Christian book, as it undoubtedly was for Luther and his time. 15. Apart from a few psalmists who appear to have caught glimpses of a happier hereafter, the men who made the Psalter had no such consolation. For most of them, death meant Sheol. 16. And the sad thing was that God seemed to have no further use for these ghostly-grey inhabitants of the city of the dead.

Notes: 1. Dickinson, 27: Lyric poetry may be divided into two classes: first, that which is the expression of individual, subjective feeling, the poet communing with himself alone, imparting to his thought a colour derived solely from his personal inward experience; and second, that which utters sentiments that are shared by an organization, community or race, the poet serving as the mouthpiece of a mass actuated

by common experiences and motives. The second class is more characteristic of a people in the earlier stages of culture, when the individual is lost in the community, before the tendency towards specialization of interests gives rise to an expression that is distinctly personal.

2. Schweitzer, I, 11.

3. Rowley, Introduction, xxix: In England, Wheeler Robinson devoted unwearied attention to this subject, and while in some particulars A.R. Johnson is supplying a corrective to his views, his work will long continue to bear fruit. His name is especially associated with the idea of 'corporate personality'... It was he who brought it into special prominence, and who applied it fruitfully to some of the outstanding problems of the Old Testament, and in particular to the question of the 'I' of the Psalms and to that of the Suffering Servant.

4. Rowley, 162, The Psalms, by A.R. Johnson: Gunkel held that the personal contributions of individuals to the religious literature of ancient Israel can only be rightly understood against the more conventional background furnished by an examination of the different 'categories' or 'types' (Gattungen) which it presents and, what is more, the recognition in each case of the 'situation in life' (Sitz im Leben) which brought it into existence.

5. Borchardt und Herz, III, 475: Kein Artikel des Glaubens ist schwerer zu glauben denn der Artikel, so da heisst: Ich glaube Vergebung der Sünden.

6. Oesterley, 526: The depths of the sea, identical with Tehom Rabbah, 'the great deep', which is the Hebrew form of the Babylonian Tiamat, the primeval monster, who was the embodiment of evil.

7. From the Prayer of Humble Access.

8. Common Prayer: O Israel, trust in the Lord, for with the Lord there is mercy.

Oesterley: O Israel, wait for Yahweh,
For with Yahweh is love.

Luther's Bible: Israel, hoffe auf den Herrn, denn bei dem Herrn ist die Gnade.

9. Hazlitt, 272, DCXL.

10. Woolf, 57. Letter to Staupitz, 1518.

11. Wackernagel, Kirchenlied III, 8, - from the later of the two forms given, No. 6:

Darumb auff Gott will hoffen ich,
Auff meyn verdienst nicht bawen.

Auff yhn meyn hertz sol lassen sich
vnd seyner guete trawen.

12. Blume, 22: - und dass sie von Anfang an jenen höchsten "Gebrauchswert" hatten, der ihrer Zeit so wesentlich war. (23) Dass ihre Verbindung von Wort und Ton ungezwungen "natürlich", ausdrucks- und verbindlich wirkt, erweist ihren hohen ästhetischen Rang, der sie weit über so viele mehr oder minder mechanisch zusammengefügte Lieder der Zeit emporhebt.

13. Borchardt und Merz, III, 466:
Die Hymnologie hat sich viel mit Luthers Liedern, insbesondere mit der Frage ihrer Entstehungszeit beschäftigt. Die Anordnung in unserer Ausgabe stützt sich auf Luckes Ergebnisse.

14. Borchardt und Merz, III, 475:
Der Glaube an die Vergebung der Sünden ist es auch allein, was den Menschen angesichts des Todes trösten kann.

15. Hazlitt, 288, DCLXXXV: I marvel that nothing is written of the villainy Judas did to Christ ... for Christ, not in vain, complains of him in the 41st. Psalm.
Common Prayer, Ps. 41 9: Yea, even mine own familiar friend, whom I trusted.

16. Oesterley, 180: - "death", as often is synonymous with Sheol, the abode of the dead; the Hebrew conception of this place was the same as that of the Babylonians; it is a place of darkness where dust covers all things; dust is on bolt and bar, and dust covers the shades of men as they silently glide through the dust-laden streets of this city of the dead.

Common Prayer, Ps. 22 ¹⁵: And thou shalt bring me into the dust of death.

(11) Ps. 12: Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein.

(Salvum me fac)

With the completion of Ps. 130, Luther evidently made a close perusal of the Psalter for material suitable to his purpose. The versions follow one another quite quickly, and in numerical order. From a psalm of late date, he now turned to one which is pre-exilic, and wholly concerned with religi-

ous observances. Gunkel calls it a Prophetic Liturgy (Prophetische Liturgie).

Pss. 11 and 12 introduce another awkward problem for commentators: that of the psalmist's enemies and who they were. Both psalms are the record of a bitter schismatic struggle, between those who wished to preserve traditional customs intact, and those seeking to modify doctrine or ceremonial. The writer of Ps. 11 puts forward two reasons for refusing to flee from the violence of his antagonists: his strong trust in God's power of deliverance, and his moral obligation to stand by his party in its time of trouble. The writer of Ps. 12 protests against a degenerate ruling class, holding "partly to the traditions handed down, but mainly to their advocacy of newfangled ideas and practices." 17.

At first sight, the situation looks like a complete reversal of that existing between Catholics and Lutherans, one in which the orthodox were many and influential, and the innovators relatively few. But if it is considered in the light of differences already beginning to appear amongst the evangelicals themselves, Luther's choice of Ps. 12 gains point. Indeed, it is not easy to see just what was in his mind as he wrote. A day or so after the Christmas of 1521, with Wittenberg in a turmoil of iconoclastic zeal, the Zwickau prophets had arrived, claiming that they did not need the Bible, because they were on intimate speaking terms with God himself. Whatever we may read-in to Luther's hymn, one

fact emerges: his personal courage in returning to Wittenberg from the Wartburg, against the more prudent counsels of Elector Frederick, made him a man of the same stamp as the psalmists. And there can be no doubt that one central thought brought them very close to each other, namely, the supremacy of the Word.

Luther's hymn, a free treatment of Ps. 12, seems to have originated in connection with his attempts to check the dangerous influence of Schwarmgeist prepared to set aside this supremacy of the Word.¹⁸ Even if it is no more than a warning against fanatical renegades in his own camp, it brings out strongly the problem of Pss. 11 and 12, "as to how far innovations or modifications, whether in doctrinal expression or in the cultus, are advisable and justified." ¹⁹

The whole question of rights and wrongs is complicated by Luther's own position in relation to Roman Catholicism. His first literary production at the Wartburg had been an exposition of Ps. 68, written primarily to encourage his Wittenberg friends and supporters. There was a certain irony in this. In June 1520, the papal Bull, Exsurge Domine, had called on the faithful to make a stand against Luther, in an exordium beginning with words from the same psalm: "Arise, O Lord... A roaring sow of the woods has undertaken to destroy the vineyard... Heretics force, bend and forge

the Scriptures to have a meaning different from that indicated by the Holy Spirit. Thus, as St. Jerome observed, the Gospel is no longer of Christ, but of men." 20. This was exactly Luther's contention here.

Notes: 17. Oesterley, 150.

18. Borchardt und Merz, III, 477:

Das ganze Lied ist durchzogen von dem Kummer, den ihm diese bereitet haben. Er fühlt sich verlassen von denen, die erst seine begeisterten Freunde waren... Gottes Wort ist nicht mehr ihr Leitstern. Sie folgen den angeblichen Eingebungen des Heiligen Geistes... aber diese sogenannten Offenbarungen sind "falscher Schein". In Wirklichkeit handelt es sich um Erfindungen ihres eigenen Witzes. Die Folge ist, dass sie unter sich uneins sind... und masslose Trennung unter den Christen hervorrufen... Wenn man sie brüderlich warnt, trotzen sie. (Quoting Kulp, who supports his conclusions, statement by statement, with textual references).

19. Oesterley, 148-149.

20. Hillerbrand, 84.

(111) Ps. 14(53): Es spricht der Unweisen Mund.

(Dixit insipiens)

Ps. 14 strikes out at a corrupt priesthood. The situation was not new in Israel. A good many years before the psalmist wrote his complaint, the prophet Malachi had drawn attention to a state of affairs in which the priests were completely careless of their true function as religious leaders. Now, other circumstances were producing moral decay. The psalm, once again a Liturgy, belongs to the Greek period. By the third century B.C., there had arisen in Palestine cities in which Jews and Greek-speaking peoples were in direct contact.

Two forces met, and their fundamental differences were a measure of their incompatibility: for Hellenism contained elements dangerous to the very life of Judaism. Drawn away by its magnetic sophistication, even the priests became utterly worldly.

A phenomenon of the Greek period, and one which offers an interesting parallel to Reformation Germany, was the rise of the Pharisees. When a reaction against Hellenism set in, they sought to make the Scriptures the possession of the people, and to relate them more closely to everyday life. Themselves drawn mainly from the people, it was their aim to safeguard the religious rights of the laity from abuse by an aristocratic priestly caste, and to sanctify the life of the home through a popularization of the Bible. 21.

In the time of the psalmist, this has not yet come about. The priests "devour my people; they eat the bread of God, but call not upon his name." 22. The disillusionments of Luther's journey to Rome spring to mind, and his horror-struck amazement at the wickedness and complacency of the priests. The need for reform had been recognized for at least a century, but nobody seemed to be doing anything about it. Luther could scarcely believe what he saw with his own eyes and heard with his own ears: "Neither God nor man, neither sin nor modesty are respected. So testify all the

pious who were there, and all the godless who returned worse from Italy." 23.

The psalmist begins with an abrupt and drastic denunciation, and Luther follows suit. 24. Then presently there comes an echo of Ps. 130: "They put not their trust in God, they call not upon him in trouble, deeming that they are sufficient unto themselves." 25. A comparison of Luther's final verse with the conclusion of the psalm shows a divergence. The Hebrew writer says: "O for the salvation of Israel from Zion, when God bringeth back the restoration of his people." 26. Luther writes: "God will have mercy upon his people and set the prisoners free. This he will do through his Son." 27. Luther's thought is Christian, and looks forward. The psalmist's thought, while being apocalyptic, looks back. Luther was no doubt thinking of the Exile, and of the Babylonian Captivity of the German Church. The psalmist had in mind the return of Israel's 'Golden Age'.

This idea of returning to a state of pristine happiness is further discussed under Ps. 46 and several other psalms. It belongs to the thought and the language of prophecy, we are told, and is an adaptation of Babylonian mythological elements to the prophetic vision of a Messianic age. 28. Luther assumed without question that the Old-Testament writers "were actually mouthpieces of the pre-existent Christ... That was why in his exegesis he could find Paul's

theology in the Psalms." 29.

His version of Ps.14, like that of Ps.12, was probably written in the difficult time towards the end of 1523, or at the beginning of 1524.30. But surely it was made to meet a much broader and deeper situation than one in which purely domestic differences were involved.

Notes:

21. Paraphrase of the Clarendon Bible,
O.T. V, 50-56.

22. Oesterley, 279,

23. Hillerbrand, 25. Exposition of Ps.117,
1530.

24. Common Prayer, Ps. 14 1-2:

The fool hath said in his heart: There is no God. They are corrupt, and become abominable in their doings: there is none that doeth good, no not one.

Wackernagel, Kld. III, 6(Nro.4):

Es spricht der vnweisen mund wol
'den rechten Got wir meynen',
Doch ist yhr hertz vnglaubens voll,
mit that sie yhn verneinen.

25. Ps. 130; Str. 4:

Es steht yr trawē nicht auff Got,
eye ruffen yhm nicht yn der nott,
sie wölln sich selb versorgen.

Already between the two forms of Ps. 130, a change of emphasis is noticeable:

Nro. 5, Str.1: wie manche sund ich hab gethan.

Gollwitzer, 9: Tiefe Anfechtungen sind sein Teil gewesen sein Leben lang, und seine Theologie ist recht eigentlich das Bekenntnis eines tief angefochtenen Menschen über das, was ihn bedrängte, wie über das, was ihn errettete, das Bekenntnis immer neuer Errettung aus immer neuer Bedrängnis. Aber diese Bedrängnis kam ihm nicht von aussen, sondern von innen; nicht der Kosmos war ihm wie dem mittelalterlichen Menschen der Wohnsitz lauernder Dämonen, sondern das eigene Herz.

Nro. 6. Str. 1: Was sund vnd vnrecht ist gethan.

Pesch, 19: Die Welt und die Menschen sehen nicht danach aus, als ob ein Gott über ihnen walte, der sie liebt. Eher scheint es, wie Luther sagt, zugespitzte Formulierungen niemals scheuend, dass ein Teufel anstelle Gottes sein Wesen in der Welt treibt.

26. Oesterley, 279.

27. Str. 6:

Got wird sych seyns volcks erbarmen
vnd lösen die gefangen:

Das wirt er thun durch seynen son.

28. Oesterley, 382.

29. Cambridge History, 25, The Bible in the Reformation, by R.H. Bainton.

30. Borchardt und Merz, III, 478.

(iv) Ps. 67: Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein.
(Deus misereatur)

Gunkel assigns Ps. 67 to a very small group called Communal Songs of Thanksgiving (Danklieder des Volkes). These are songs written for special occasions; in this case, a hymn of harvest, displaying a humility which regards itself as quite unworthy of such great-hearted, open-handed generosity on Yahweh's part. It expresses the deepest thankfulness for nature's bounty, seen as a renewed act of divine graciousness. And it conveys a conception of God which has widened out to include under his sovereignty all the races of men. 31.

"I am the son of a peasant", Luther reminds us. He never lost his feeling for the soil, and responded with wonder to the cycle and the process of growth. When he wrote of the earth's increase, he was acutely aware of the fields, and of the sweat and aching muscles behind their

yield. But he was a reformer and a Pauline theologian as well, and his words held a symbolic meaning.³² It is scarcely open to doubt that the universalism of Ps.67 is closely linked with the nature-consciousness of its author, who realizes that the fruits of the earth are vouchsafed to all men, and that Yahweh is not Israel's God alone, but Lord of every nation. "History can show the working out of a divine pattern of which Nature is the warp and Man the woof." God is "what Nature, as well as history, reveals Him to be, and Nature is his peculiar language." ³³.

In the second verse of his hymn on Ps.67, Luther brings in, quite independently of the psalmist, a metaphor which fixes the depth of his understanding of nature in relation to man's dependence upon God. The line is remarkable, and quite untranslatable. ³⁴. It includes both flocks and herds, and for those who tend them the right of pasture, with a sufficiency of feed, and the safety of protection from predators. It anticipates the healthier and less sentimental aspects of Schäferpoesie, but it does something far more important as well, for it is charged with the true spirit of what such things meant to Israel, when Israel was still dwelling in tents. It comes almost as an afterthought, in much the same way as the psalmist's mention of the harvest which really prompted the whole of his song. ³⁵.

Luther appears to have written these particular verses with a specific purpose in mind. They were inten-

ded as a closing hymn for his reorganized form of divine service. In them he gives expression, "and indeed only in this psalm version, to the Amen not found in the psalm."36.

Notes:

31. See Oesterley, 317 and 82.
32. Wackernagel, Kld. III, 8 (Nro.7):
Das landt bringt frucht vnd bessert sych,
deyn wort yst wol geratten.
33. Wheeler Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation, 106 and 4.
34. Str. 2:
Dein wort die hut vñ weide ist,
die alles volck erhalten
in rechter ban zu wallen.
35. Oesterley, 318: 6(7). The earth hath yielded her increase, Yahweh our God hath blessed us.
Luther's Bible: 7. Das Land gibt sein Gewächs. Es segne uns Gott, unser Gott.
36. Borchardt und Merz, III, 480.
Quoting Spitta.
- nu sprecht von hertzen Amen.

(v) Ps. 124: Wår Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit.
(Nisi quia Dominus)

Gunkel places Ps. 124 alongside Ps.67 in the group known as Communal Thanksgivings. By ancient title, it belongs amongst the Songs of Ascents, but is really a liturgical psalm telling of divine assistance in some unspecified national crisis, when Israel was facing a powerful and unscrupulous foe.37. Just as the psalmist leaves the exact nature of the peril unexplained, so Luther, keeping closely to the psalm, gives no details of a particular situation.

Yet there is an urgency about his language which seems to suggest a very real danger. Whereas the psalmist's account is in the past tense, Luther puts his into the present. There is no hint of personal trouble as such; it is his people who are threatened, "we, who are such a meagre little band, scorned by so many, and they all setting upon us." 38. This is entirely Luther's own, the one significant departure from the psalm text.

In view of the fact that the hymn appeared in the Wittenberger Sangbüchlein of 1524, it is quite possible that it was written with the burning of the first Reformation martyrs in mind, and that Luther still feared the spread of such reprisals. Ein neues Lied wir heben an, "the first fresh, full-throated song of the Wittenberg nightingale", 39. had not long before drawn attention to the sufferings in Brussels of two men prepared to die for their faith. At all events, it was for others rather than for himself that Luther was concerned here. And whatever the situation may have been, the outcome was a happy one. 40. Was the immediate danger physical or spiritual? and how and why did it suddenly pass?

It is difficult to believe that this is just a version of Ps. 124, so graphically realistic is it, so much closer to the spirit of genuine Volksdichtung than the more literary rendering in Luther's Bible translation. 41.

The final reference of the psalm to a Creator-God of unchallengeable might recalls Ps. 130, and the victory of Yahweh over the waters of trouble. 42. The very name of the maker of heaven and earth is a sure defence against overwhelming odds.

The version of Ps. 67 provided an end-of-service benediction; Ps. 124 came to be used as an introit. At least one commentator on these challenging lines seems to sense in them something more than a versification of the psalm for a limited liturgical purpose. The impassioned authenticity of the hymn requires another explanation: "He keeps as closely as possible to the wording of the Bible, yet one does not gain the impression of derived and clumsy verse-making; the poem is, in fact, a model of extremely concise and thought-enriched diction, especially in the last stanza." 43. Luther habitually immersed himself in the thought of the psalmists, but surely here he was recording deliverance from some actual threat. He was once again thanking "the God of escapes from death." 44.

Notes:

37. See Oesterley, 510.
38. Wackernagel, Kld. III, 17 (Nro.27):
Die so eyn armes heufflin sind,
veracht von so viel menschen kind,
die an vns setzen alle.
39. Borchardt und Merz, III, 470.
40. Str. 3:

Wie eyn vogel des stricks kompt ab,
ist vnser seel entgangen.

41. Strick ist entzwey vnd wyr sind frey.
Luther's Bible: Der Strick ist zerrissen,
und wir sind los.

42. Common Prayer, Ps. 124 ³⁻⁴:

Yea, the waters had drowned us: and the stream had gone over
our soul.

The deep waters of the proud: had gone even over our soul.

Luther's Bible, ⁴⁻⁵: So ersäufte uns
Wasser, Ströme gingen über unsere Seele;
Es gingen Wasser allzu hoch über unsere Seele.

43. Borchardt und Herz, III, 481. Then
quoting Kulp: - und doch hat man nicht die Empfindung
einer unselbständigen, ungeschickten Reimerei; die Dichtung
ist geradezu das Muster eines überaus knappen und gedanken-
reichen Diktions.

44. Oesterley, 322, Ps. 68 ^{20 (21)}:

The God (who is) God of saving acts,
The God of escapes from death.

(vi) Ps. 128: Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht steht.
(Beati omnes qui timent)

Ps. 128 is another example of misplacement by title. It
cannot be considered a song of pilgrims, but belongs rather
to the Wisdom poetry of Israel (Weisheitsdichtung). The
learned writer pictures a typical peasant who is doing well,
and uses his prosperity to illustrate the truth that the
'Zenith' of all wisdom is the fear of Yahweh. 45. Luther's
version keeps closely to the text. There is only one addi-
tion of any consequence: from such a man, he says, is withheld
the ancient wrathful curse into which the sons of men are
born. 46. It was quite natural for Luther to introduce a
reminder of the doctrine of original sin, for already in
ancient Israel this was the marriage psalm. 47.

In some ways it is the least satisfactory of the psalm songs. One begins by wondering whether Luther's betrothal to Katie von Bora soon afterwards was the casual affair it is sometimes made out to be. But it soon becomes clear that there is no personal note sounding in the lines at all. They are purely objective Weisheitsdichtung; Doctor Martinus is solemnly lecturing his flock on the merits of virtuous wedlock. His own wedding took place towards the end of June, 1525.

In May, Luther had published his fierce tract Against the Murderous and Thieving Hordes of Peasants, with an appropriate quotation from the psalms on the title page. 48. He had hoped to keep the peace by convincing the peasants with arguments. It was his belief that, although great wrongs had been committed against them, they could achieve no good by taking up the pitchfork. He had predicted that bloodshed would follow such a course, just as his own enemies had foretold all sorts of strife from his apostasy: "He encourages the laity to wash their hands in the blood of the clergy. His teaching makes for rebellion, division, war, murder, robbery, arson, and the collapse of Christendom." 49.

Perhaps because of the derision with which he was met by the peasants, Luther's about-face was sudden and violent. Categorically he shouts that peasants in

revolt stand outside God's law. Hence they are fit only to be killed off, as mad dogs are destroyed. His open invitation to smite and slay is a shamefully hotheaded outburst, not easy to reconcile with what he says about the dignity of labour and the quiet pursuits of the house-father at work in his garden. But Luther's honest opinion was that sedition is inexcusable. While the peasants kept what dignity they had, he was prepared to be their champion; the minute they forfeited it by rising against established authority, he became their sworn enemy.

It is probable that Luther was thinking of the German peasants as he wrote this version. The traditional acceptance of the psalm as a marriage hymn implied the continuity of the people, in freedom from want and oppression. The psalmist's final wish for peace upon the children's children must have made a strong appeal to him.⁵⁰ The Palestinian peasant of the psalm was prosperous because he feared Yahweh, and for Luther this was all that mattered. When not driven by his own dangerous tendency to bluster and revile, he longed with his whole being for the happiness of his beloved Germany and of the stock from which he sprang.

Of all the Luther psalm versions, this was the only one never used by Bach as a four-part chorale. ⁵¹ In the Erfurter Enchiridion, it was given no separate melody of its own, but was sung to the Lied S. Johannis Hus. In

Johann Walther's Chorbüchlein, it was given 'a very beautiful Ionian air', commenting upon which H.J. Moser goes to the heart of the matter: "Vanished from the hymn-books of today, the piece ought again to become one of the chief adornments of Christian house-music."52. In this innocently didactic panegyric, Luther's appeal is rather to the family circle than to the great assembled congregation of believers.

Notes:

45. See Oesterley, 519, and Rowley (VII), The Wisdom Literature, by W. Baumgartner.

46. Wackernagel, Kld. III, 9 (Nro.8):

Sich, so reich segen hangt dem an,

wo yn gottes furcht lebt syn man:

Vō ym lesst der alt fluch vnd zorn,

den menschen kindern angeborn.

47. Borchardt und Merz, III, 482:

- ein Hohes Lied auf den Ehestand, den die Reformation von der Diffamierung durch die mittelalterliche Kirche befreit und wieder in sein göttliches Amt gesetzt hat.

48. Common Prayer, Ps. 7¹⁷: For his travail shall come upon his own head: and his wickedness shall fall on his own pate.

Luther's Bible: Sein Unglück wird auf seinen Kopf kommen, und sein Prevel auf seine Scheitel fallen.

49. Bainton, (M) 147. From the final draft of the Edict of Worms.

50. Knox, Ps. 127⁶, (Vulgate numbering): Mayest thou live to see thy children's children, and peace resting upon Israel.

Oesterley, 521: - the long-cherished conception of the solidarity of the people; the welfare of the individual is conditioned by that of the community; and this can be assured only by loyalty in the worship of Yahweh.

51. The Luther psalm chorales as given by Terry:

<u>sieh darcin.</u>	I, Nos. 6 and 7. <u>Ach Gott vom Himmel,</u> Melody, anonymous (1524).
<u>zu dir.</u>	I, No. 32. <u>Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich</u> Melody, by (?) Luther (1524).
<u>unser Gott.</u>	I, Nos. 77 - 79. <u>Ein feste Burg ist</u> Melody, by Luther (1529).
<u>Mund wohl.</u>	I, No. 95. <u>Es spricht der Unweisen</u> Melody, By (?) Luther (1524).
<u>genädig sein.</u>	I, Nos. 98-101. <u>Es wollt uns Gott</u> Melody, anonymous (1525).
<u>diese Zeit.</u>	II, No. 343. <u>Wär Gott nicht mit uns</u> Melody, by (?) Johann Walther (1524).

52. Borchardt und Merz, III, 482:

In den Gesangbüchern der Gegenwart verschwunden, sollte das Stück wieder ein Hauptschmuckstück christlicher Hausmusik werden. (Moser)

(vii) Ps. 46: Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott:
(Deus noster refugium)

The greatest of Luther's hymns, in which he is at his fieriest and best, remains something of an enigma. If the date of its composition is to be put somewhere between 1526 and the middle of 1528, 53. then it stands well apart from the other psalm versions, which seem with reasonable certainty to belong to the end of 1523 or to 1524. Really it matters little when, or to commemorate what occasion, it was written. The important thing is that it is there, as abiding evidence that the strength on which Luther relied was 'fully proved'. 54. In the sense that there is nothing more to be said on the subject, this is Luther's last word, spoken in burning faith, with the brilliance of silver trumpets. 55.

It is a truism to call these lines a battle-

song. 56. They live on, because in them Luther's vision leaps beyond time and place into a limitless situation. His one concern is the strength of evil, recognized for what it is, and openly defied; not in any spirit of vaunting challenge, but in the sure knowledge that good must win because God must win. The old hereditary enemy is in deadly earnest, and Luther's resistance movement is organized on exactly the same lines as that of St. Paul. 57.

It might be claimed with some justification that there is more of St. Paul in the famous hymn than there is of Ps.46. Luther acknowledges his indebtedness to the psalmist, but apart from the opening and the use of Herr Zebaoth, there is scarcely a point of resemblance in the language. Yet there is a quite unaccountable identity of thought. For Luther, the Herr Zebaoth is Christ; "there is no other God." 58. Since there is no other God, it is self-evident that he must be victorious. And even if we lose everything, the prince of this world makes no gains by it, for the apocalyptic Reich is already ours.

In his commentary on Ps.46, Oesterley draws attention to a vision recorded in one of the apocryphal books. It describes the assembling of a countless multitude, to make war upon the Man that came out of the Sea. Having thrown up a mighty mountain for himself, he stands on top of it, and burns up his foes with a blast of fire

from his mouth. Then he comes down from the mountain-top and calls to him his supporters, all men of peace. This Man from the Sea is the Messiah who, having overcome Tiamat in the deeps, takes his seat as absolute ruler. 59. With the final defeat of Tiamat, evil genius of the nations that do not recognize Yahweh as Lord, the way is made clear for the triumph of Israel's God in a world restored to the happiness of the 'Golden Age'. With warfare at an end, and his people's faith vindicated, Yahweh's reign of peace can begin. For "when all things began, the Word already was. The Word dwelt with God, and what God was, the Word was". 60.

Notes: 53. Borchardt und Merz, III, 509, Quoting Lucke: Wir dürfen mit Gewissheit annehmen, dass das Lied bereits 1528 in dem Weiss'schen Wittenberger Gesangbuch erschienen ist. Danach ist zu folgern, dass die Entstehung des Liedes zwischen 1526, wo das dem Weiss'schen Sangbüchlein vorhergehende Luftsche Enchiridion erschien, und Mitte 1528 anzusetzen ist.

54. Oesterley, 255, Ps. 46 1(2): God is our refuge and strength, a help in troubles, fully proved.

55. Borchardt und Merz, III, 510. Quoting Moser: - und man wird erst richtig der lodernden Ekstase gewahr, aus der heraus Luther sein hellschmetterndes Kampflied gesungen hat.

56. Stammer, 319: Und einmal hat er der gesamten evangelischen Christenheit das Bekenntnislied gefunden ... Auch hier wieder das Kampfmotiv; ja das gesamte Lied atmet trotzig, unerschrockenen Streitergeist ... Und dann der packende Schluss ... Auch in der Komposition ist, trotz dem meistersingerischen Aufbau, alte hemmende Konvention abgestreift, ehern und fest wie der entschlossene Marsch heranrückender Landsknechte tönt der Gang der Melodie.

Dickinson, 252, lists the following references: the Marseillaise of the Reformation (Heine). God Almighty's grenadier march (Frederick the Great).

Wagner's grand march celebrating the military triumphs of united Germany.

The choice of the tune by Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer to symbolize aggressive Protestantism.

57. Revised Version, Ephesians VI:
Finally, be strong in the Lord, and in the strength of his might. Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places.

Str.2: 58. Wackernagel, Kld. III, 20 (Nro.33),
Es streit für uns der rechte man,
den Gott hat selbst erkoren.
Fragstu, wer der ist?
er heist Jhesu Christ,
der Herr Zebaoth,
und ist kein ander Gott.

59. II. Esdras 13. Oesterley, 255.

60. New English Bible, opening of the Gospel according to John.

If the comparisons between the Luther versions and the original psalms have been correctly made, and if such correspondences are not purely fortuitous, it follows that Luther had a close affinity with the men whose songs were his models. Not only that: he anticipated, by what must be regarded as spiritual insight, many of the findings of biblical scholarship since his day. Nor was this impossible, if he could identify himself with the minds of the ancient writers, and see their meaning whole; not so much in its

actual historical context as in its Christian transliteration.

There can be traced in the versions a gathering momentum of religious experience, which begins in a strongly marked individualism, then moves out towards the universal, and finally shakes off all trammels in Ein feste Burg. Luther had a happy knack of taking up the right psalm at the right time; there was nothing haphazard in his choice of material. Whatever immediate purpose each of the versions may have been intended to serve, there is a pattern which shows the stages of his growth in stature. He made mistakes, and he was often tormented by doubts, as were some of the psalmists. He grew impatient of mysticism, yet he owed to it the intellectual humility which allowed him to become such a towering religious figure. The mystical paradox so simply expressed by the fourteenth-century author of The Cloud of Unknowing lay, perhaps without Luther's realizing it, very near to the centre of his theology: "Of God himself can no man think. Therefore I will leave on one side everything I can think. By love he can be caught and held, but by thinking never." 61.

We may believe that the object of his love was first shown to Luther in a psalm. The Tischreden record what was obviously a very vivid experience: "It is astonishing, that the Father should say to his only Son: Go, let them hang thee on the gallows ... Yet he was cast away so

lamentably, like a worm, a scorn of men, and outcast of the people.⁶² At this the blind understanding of man stumbles..."⁶³ Here was the blindness of Rabbi Saul as he travelled the Damascus road, except that now the road ran through Saxony. ⁶⁴. And the religious who became St. Paul's most eager disciple was someone to be reckoned with. "There has never been a German who so instinctively understood his countrymen as this Augustinian friar... The mind and the spirit of the Germans were under his control, like the lyre in the hands of a musician."⁶⁵ It is hardly to be wondered at that such a man should test his powers in psalmody, or that the Reformation should burst into song, when he set himself to play on a living instrument.

Notes: 61. Penguin Classics, L 108, 59-60. Translation by Clifton Wolters.

 62. Common Prayer, Ps. 22⁶: But as for me, I am a worm, and no man: a very scorn of men, and the outcast of the people.

 Knox, Ps. 21⁷, (Vulgate numbering): But I, poor worm, have no manhood left: I am a by-word to all, the laughing-stock of the rabble.

 63. Hazlitt, 99, CCXXVIII.

 64. This can be heard to perfection in Heinrich Schütz's Saul, Saul, was verfolgt du mich? (SWV 415), Geistliches Konzert from Part III of the Symphoniae sacrae, 1650.

 Die "Saulszene" ist eine der genialsten Schöpfungen von Heinrich Schütz, deren unheimliche Ausdruckskraft wohl in keinem seiner anderen Werke überboten worden ist. Wenn grosse Wirkung je mit einem Minimum an Text erzielt wurde, dann ist es hier geschehen. (Kurt Gudewill).

 65. Mackinnon, IV, 330. Quoting Döllinger.

2. CONTEMPORARIES OF LUTHER

JUSTUS JONAS

1493-1555

IT WAS JONAS who, as Rector of the University of Erfurt, incited the students to offer armed resistance to Eck and the publication of the papal Bull. It was Jonas who, in 1521, joined up with Luther in Weimar and went with him to Worms. Twenty years after Worms, it was Jonas who protestantized Halle, until then the see city of Albrecht of Mainz. And it was Jonas who accompanied Luther on the final journey to Eisleben. He was a courageous and faithful supporter, and a jovial friend whose company Luther enjoyed. He was an almost fanatical enthusiast, subjecting his opponents to treatment which even Luther would have found it hard to surpass in his most vitriolic mood. Yet even by those against whom his asperity of temper was not turned, he was never loved as Luther was. 1.

Jonas is remembered chiefly for his version of Ps. 124, Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält, probably written at about the same time as Luther's. Whereas Luther effectively packed the substance of the psalm into three seven-line stanzas, Jonas required eight for his paraphrase. In it there are hints of other psalms as well, and in particular of one already versified by Luther. 2. After some rather grim details of the enemy's ferocity, comes this:

"But praise and thanks be ever to God, they will not succeed. He will utterly break their snare in pieces, and overthrow their false doctrine. God they will not be able to restrain."

3.

Scholars have established new and vital meanings from the use of tenses in some of the Hebrew psalms, and it is always interesting to speculate on why a writer employs one tense in preference to another. Why does Jonas put the action of his version in the future? Did it come shortly before that of Luther? If this were the case, it would lend force to the suggestion that the reformers and their followers were, in fact, saved suddenly from imminent danger. It is tempting to think of Luther's lines as triumphantly confirming those of Jonas, with the passing of the crisis. Perhaps at least this once, honest Dr. Jonas was the prophet of deliverance.

As a single-minded reformer, he could not resist dogmatic observations for which the psalmist was in no way responsible: "The door of grace is never shut, and this is something reason cannot grasp," for "reason fights against faith." 4. There was more of mysticism in these Wittenbergers than they cared to admit. After 1520, when Luther ceased to have his former regard for Tauler, he looked on the mystics as being "heavily tainted with the merit-theology." 5. Yet something of their influence remained;

in a spirit of irrationality, he developed an antagonism to reason which was most unfortunate, in that it broke with the soundly critical spirit of the Humanists. Both Luther and Jonas preferred to stand beneath the 'cloud of unknowing'. While they held fast to the Word (and this was in itself a kind of mystical preoccupation), they were capable of great spiritual progress. And although we must disagree with their rejection of reason, it is quite unjust to speak of their fervour as falsely and morbidly mystical.

6.

While in Halle, Jonas wrote a lengthy diatribe based on Ps.79. The melody to be used was the one belonging to Wo Gott der Herr. The verses are too scurrilously anti-Rome to merit any serious consideration as devotional song. They might best be described as programme writing, and do not now convey any feeling of permanence. But there is an unexpected and rather quaint little prayer, to be used in all times of need and at the hour of death. In spite of the crudity of some of the language, Jonas's handling of his theme has a certain breadth and impressiveness.

Taking as his point of departure two psalms with identical wording, 7. Jonas underlines the helplessness of the new-born baby, brought into this world by the power of God alone. The state of the dying man is equally

helpless. 8. The beginning and the end of life stand in an inevitable and inalienable relationship, through man's utter dependence upon God from birth to the grave. At the point of death, each separate being faces alone a situation which he cannot change, an event in time which he cannot defer. Mankind is then a host of solitary individuals. Jonas's prayer sounds thin and meagre beside Luther's Feste Burg, yet it asserts the same truths. Insignificant against the massive effects of Luther's great hymn, it nevertheless brings the 'I' back into religious prominence, in such a way that the thunderous paean of humanity is never lost.

This is especially true of the two psalms on which Jonas drew. Neither can properly be allowed a collective interpretation, but in each the psalmist's sense of unity with a vast company of the faithful is very strong. 9. The continuity of the nation is uppermost in the mind of each, and basic to an understanding of what this meant is the Hebrew conception of human personality, "from birth to death directly dependent on God... The Hebrew conceived man as an animated body and not as an incarnate soul... It is the body which constitutes the real personality for the Hebrew... Each part of the body is conceived to have psychological and ethical as well as physiological functions of its own."10.

Both Luther and Jonas absorbed this Hebrew idea, though they might have denied any conscious acceptance

of it. One of Luther's objections to Erasmus was that he failed to be caught up in wonder at thought of the child in the womb. About Hebrew thinking on the relation of God to Nature, a good deal may be learned from what ancient writers had to say about the growth of the embryo. In their comparisons of the fruitfulness of the earth and the fruitfulness of the womb, the real emphasis is always on the mystery of creation as seen in each new birth. 11. For Luther and Jonas, as for the psalmists, this was a call to praise.

Notes:

1. Hazlitt, 182, CCCI: Dr. Justus Jonas has all the good virtues and qualities a man may have; yet merely because he hums and spits, the people cannot bear that good and honest man.

2. Wackernagel, Kld. III, 42 (Nro.62).

Sie stellen vns wie ketzern nach,
zu vnsern blut sy trachten,
Noch rhumen sye sych Christen hoch
dy Gott alleyn gros achten:

Ach got, der theure name deyn
mus yhrer schalckheyt deckel seyn!
du wirst eyn mal auffwachen.

3. Str. 5:

Lob vñ dāck sey got allezeyt,
es wird yhn nicht gelingē,
Er wird yr strick zureysaen gar
vñ störtzen yre falsche lar,
sie werdē Got nicht weren.

4. Str. 6:

Der gnadē thur steht nymer zu,
vermufft kã dz nicht fassen.

Str. 7:

Vermunfft wider den glaubē fycht.

5. Todd, 93.

6. Grisar, 79.

7. Common Prayer, Ps. 22⁹: But thou art he that took me out of my mother's womb.

Ps. 71⁵: Through thee have I been holden up ever since I was born: thou art he that took me out of my mother's womb.

8. Wackernagel, Kld. III, 45 (Nro.65),

Str. 3.: geboren ward ich in grosser not.

Str. 1.: hie sichstu mich in letzter not.

9. Oesterley, 178, Ps. 22²⁸⁻³⁰:

For the kingship is Yahweh's, and his rule is over the nations.

Of a truth, him shall they worship, all that sleep in the earth, before him shall they bow down, all that go down to the dust, and the soul that liveth not shall glorify his power.

Oesterley, 334, Ps. 71¹⁷⁻¹⁸:

O God, thou hast taught me from my youth, and till now I do declare thy wondrous-works, Yea, even to old-age and grey hairs; O God, forsake me not, so that I may declare thy deliverance to all the generation, and thy might to a generation to come.

10. Wheeler Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation, 69 and 181, and

11. 26 - 28.

HANS SACHS

1494 - 1576

Wackernagel appropriately leads in the songs of Luther and the first generation of Reformation writers with lines from the Wittenbergisch Nachtigall. Hans Sachs was enthusiastic and outspoken about the dawning of Germany's new day of the spirit, and his celebrated Reimrede did much to strengthen the position of the reformers. What attracted him particu-

larly was a vision of men set free through unconditional belief in divine grace, and dignified by the value attached to their handiwork. To this essentially human view of religion, he brought a sheer joy of living which kept him above party wrangling and bigotry.¹ Although bewildered and disappointed by the violence of the subsequent struggle, he kept the faith with a childlike trust in its rightness.

For more than fifty years, he was the leading Nürnberg exponent of Meistergesang, a genre bound and limited by a technical 'orthodoxy' peculiar to it.² As an art which was centred upon vocal monody, strict Meistergesang had no contact with the richly developing polyphony, choral or instrumental. So there is something of a paradox in its subordination of individual ideals and expressiveness to the theoretical ideal of observing exact and universally binding rules of composition, based on institutional notions of community and brotherhood. It would seem to be the natural thing for such an art to welcome the interwoven complexities of counterpoint, with its possibilities of achieving unity through independently moving melodies. But Meistergesang stubbornly survived, as the art of artisans, until long after it had become an anachronism.³

What was it, within the spirit of true Meistergesang, that constrained Hans Sachs to make a complete German Psalter? The interdependence of poetry and song in the

psalms must have made a strong appeal to him; the two were inseparable aspects of his own art. The point of view of the Mastersingers is aptly put in a Lobspruch of Hager, which begins with a flourish of psalmody.⁴ This statement of an attitude brings out some of the distinguishing features of Meistergesang : originally, and ideally, it was meant to be "eine gottgefällige, ja durch Gott selbst inspirierte Kunst."⁵ It was 'rhymed theology',⁶ with the spread of Christian morality as its special function. Almost inevitably, it developed a rather schoolmasterly didacticism, and produced a long line of singers who were perhaps more effective as moralists than as poets.

This tendency, to be content with a literal interpretation and superficial meanings, mars the honest intention of Hans Sachs's Psalter. The ease with which he tossed off psalm after psalm, in symbolic threefold form,⁷ almost precludes any real depth of understanding. A tremendous burst of activity in September and October of 1566 shows him achieving the almost impossible: on 5th October, he rhymed his way through Pss. 84, 87, 93, 108, 110 and 111. The most formidable task of all, Ps. 119, with its twenty-two sections and its 428 lines of verse, he saved up until last, bringing his work on the Psalter to a conclusion towards the end of October.

If we stop to think of the fierce hours

which the Psalter cost Luther, from his early Courses to the Beautiful Confitemini, and of the painstaking care lavished on his Bible translation, the inadequacy of the Hans Sachs versions is at once apparent. By comparison, they are facile homilies; the material does not offer any resistance to the poet-singer, as it does to the Pauline theologian. For all their dexterity, they are uncomplicated, not charged with the emotional stress of compelling attachments. But such was the nature of the man who signed himself in to every psalm, 8. and to know him as he was, it is necessary only to bring together the concluding thoughts to which he put his name. 9.

Forty years before he was able to say Ende des ganzen Psalters, Sachs had made a selection of thirteen psalms for general use.¹⁰ These all appeared in the Nürnberg songbooks of 1527, but there is no sign of them amongst the four-part chorales of J.S. Bach. Bach did, however, use one hymn commonly attributed to Hans Sachs, Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz?¹¹ Wackernagel, laying the blame for a good deal of muddle over authorship generally on Johann Michael Dilherr of Nürnberg, prints it under Georgius Aemilius Oemler, and points out that, in many places, it shows a freeness of versification which could scarcely have come from a syllable-counting Mastersinger.¹² In addition to which it hardly echoes the sentiments expressed by Sachs at other

times, in his treatment of Pss. 42 and 43. 13.

It is so significant, that he was able to compress the entire Psalter into a compact summary of twenty-two lines.¹⁴ On the one hand, God's omnipotence and creative activity, his eternal wisdom, compassion, goodness and clemency are set forth for the consolation and instruction of believers, so that they may bring praise and honour to him who forgives sins through his Son. Against this, the Psalter declares God's anger upon those who scorn his Word with false doctrine, fire and killings; who persecute the Christian body, and live on persistently in sin. But it is certain that, unless they mend their ways, they will be rooted out at the last - Right and left, white and black; it is all so straightforward that a child could follow it. Then why all the bitterness and strife?

Hans Sachs's psalms bear witness to the magnetic pull exercised by the Psalter, as a Christian book, on the men of the Reformation. This attraction was capable of becoming an excluding force, even a distorted and sinister obsession. Sachs would never have understood the religious frenzy of the Camisards, a few thousand Protestant mountaineers who ranged themselves against the might of Louis XIV, in the later days of psalm-singing and blood-letting. Neither would he have understood the sense of rapture with which the sound of psalms filled them.¹⁵ He saw the beginning of such

violent things in sixteenth-century Germany, and feared for his country's future, without himself becoming entangled in reckless partisanship.

Notes:

1. Francke, 121: So bleibt Hans Sachs der einzige dramatische Dichter, ja überhaupt der einzige Dichter unter den Nachfolgern Luthers, dessen Persönlichkeit über die engen Grenzen konfessionellen Parteihaders und geistiger Gebundenheit hinausragt.

2. Nagel, 87: Meistersang war nie Literatur in unserem Sinne, sondern eine nur in gesanglichen Vortrag verwirklichte lebendige Kunstübung. Man muss Meistersang also in seiner besonderen Lebensform - als poetisch-musikalische Ganzheit - begreifen.

3. Nagel, 3: - die letzte Phase eines langen ... Sterbeprozesses, der ... in den beiden Spätschulen Ulm und Memmingen bis 1839 bzw. 1875 gedauert hat.

4. Common Prayer, Ps. 81¹: Sing we merrily unto God our strength.

Nagel, 75:

Singet gar frölig Gott zu lob!
Gesang schwebt allen Künsten ob.
Wie wol die werten seiten spil
Den menschen geben freuden vil,
aber das schön menschlich gesang
vber drift weit den plosen Klang;
Denn inn dem seiten spil ge zirt
allein der thon ver numen würt.
aber die menschlich stim So klar
macht Thön vnd Text fein offen bar,
vnd gibt den menschen gutte lehr.
Billig be helt Gesang die Ehr.

Reese, 653: There is some confusion about the exact meaning of the word Ton, and the distinction between it and Weise. Ton seems to have meant usually the verse and rhyme scheme of the poem, or that scheme together with the melody; Weise, the melody alone. But the two words were frequently used interchangeably.

5. Nagel, 64 and

6. 79: Meistersang ist zum grossen Teil gereimte Theologie und (bis zur Reformation) Mariologie.

7. Summa, Der psalm, Der beschluss.

8. Francke, 121: Die angeborene Keuschheit seines Wesens machte es ihm geradezu unmöglich, die Dinge anders als rein zu sehen.

9. End mach tyrannisch ungemachs
Sampt falscher lehr, das wünscht Hans Sachs.

- Ps. 37, 1562.

Auff dass sein gmein sich mehr und wachss
In reinem glauben, wünscht Hans Sachs.

- Ps. 28. 1565.

Gott gebe, dass in kurtzen tagen
Gottes erkenntnis rein auffwachss
Durch Gottes wort, das wünscht Hans Sachs.

- Ps. 14, 1565.

Durch dess hülff wir als ungemachs
Erledigt werden, spricht Hans Sachs.

- Ps. 79, 1566.

Einfeltig gottes wort nach-gahn,
Auss dem der seelen heil erwachss,
Das verleih uns gott, spricht Hans Sachs.

- Ps. 50, 1566.

10. Wackernagel, Bibliographie, 86, CCXXIII :
Dreytzehen Psalmen zusingen, in der vier hernach genotirten
thönen, in welchem man wil... einem Christen in widerwertig-
keit seer tröstlich. Hans Sachs, 1526.

11. Terry, II, Nos. 344-346 :
Hymn, by (?) Hans Sachs, in twelve (fourteen: 1565) 5-line
stanzas (1560). Melody, anonymous (1565).

12. Wackernagel, Kld. IV, 129: Es ist Sitte
geworden, dieses Lied Hans Sachs zuzuschreiben, und ich bin
selber in der ersten Ausgabe meines Werkes vom J. 1841
Seite 182 so schwach gewesen, derselben ohne Weiteres Folge
zu leisten... Joh. Mich. Dilherr und die ihm nachgefolgt
hätten neben Anderem bedenken sollen, dass ein Lied mit so
freier Versbildung... nicht von einem sylben-zählenden
Meistersänger herrühren könne.

13. Was betrübtest du dich, mein seel,
In deiner anfechtung und quel,
Und bist so unruhig in mir?

- Ps. 42, 1562.

Was betrübstw, mein seele, dich,
Und bist in mir so unrühwrig?...

Der beschluss.

Von David nem ein Christ die lehr:
Wo noch ein tyrann wüet sehr,
Richt an im lande gros unfur,
Mit pösen pueben ein auffrur,
Mit zu verderben leut und land
Durch raub, gefencknus, mord vnd brand,
Dass er anhalt mit dem gebet
Bey gott, dem herren, frü vnd spet.

- Ps. 43, 1566.

14. Wackernagel, Kld. III, 73 (Nro.106):
Ein ~~schöne~~ Lobred, vnd kurtzer Inhalt des gantzen
Psalters Daudis.

(74) Das Erst Buch des Psalters Daudis, Durch M. Nicolaum
Selneccerum. Nürnberg 1563 fol. Auf der Rückseite des 6.
Blattes.

15. R.L. Stevenson, in Travels with a Donkey
in the Cévennes, gives a graphic account of the Camisard
rebellion in the first years of the eighteenth century -
One by one, Séguier first, the Camisards drew near and
stabbed him.

"This" they said, "is for my father broken on the wheel.
This for my brother in the galleys. That for my mother
or my sister imprisoned in your cursed convents." Each
gave his blow and his reason; and then all kneeled and
sang psalms around the body till the dawn. With the dawn,
still singing, they defiled away towards Frugères, farther
up the Tarn, to pursue the work of vengeance - "We flew,"
says one old Camisard, "when we heard the sound of psalm-
singing, we flew as if with wings. We felt within us an
animating ardour, a transporting desire... However weary
we might be, we thought no more of our weariness, and grew
light as soon as the psalms fell upon our ears."

ULRICH VON HUTTEN

1488 - 1523

Hans Sachs managed to avoid becoming dangerously involved, but it was otherwise with poor disease-ridden Hutten, pursued and calumniated, and finally forced to accept the refuge offered by Zwingli on the Lake of Zürich. There is unrelieved tragedy in Hutten's story, which ought not to be read as an isolated record of personal failure and disillusionment, since it has far wider implications. The history of German culture from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth, is marked by a sense of the tragic.¹ There is a deep Tragik in the fortunes of Luther himself, 2. and Hutten's lonely death beyond the borders of his own country is symbolic of the unhappy repudiation of Humanism by the Reformation.³

Hutten was on fire with an idea, the idea of intellectual liberty for all classes, working together in the cause of truth and humanity. But as a man he was turbulent and angry, with a cutting tongue and headstrong ways. At all costs, he must have action; but the scholars of the time, however liberal their views, remained conservative over changes of the kind he demanded. As for the masses of the people, they were not yet ready for so radically different a way of life, 4. and the German knights, Hutten's chosen instruments, were of all men perhaps the least suited

to show them the way.

The road Hutten was taking reached a point at which it seemed to him inevitable that Luther's path and his own must coincide. But was there any road which these two men could have travelled together without tragic consequences? Both were conscious of the differences separating them. Luther could not avoid the feeling that Hutten's interest in the Gospel was only superficial, and that terrifying dangers awaited a programme of political reform which must certainly bring bloodshed. Hutten supported Luther as far as he understood him, but in his turn he saw that the innocent would suffer with the guilty, and the old Germany he turned upside-down. The profound sadness of the situation was that each of these great men misread certain signposts.

When Hutten heard of Luther's excommunication, he sent him a letter bristling with psalm references: "The devout will say concerning you, 'They sought after the soul of the righteous, and condemned the innocent blood; but God will requite them for their offence, and the Lord our God will destroy them in their malice'...5. 'Therefore we hate the assembly of the wicked, and will not sit with the godless'...6. In me you have a supporter in every possible contingency. Then be bold to confide all your plans to me in the future."7. And when Luther appeared in Worms the

following year to make his stand before the Diet, Hutten wrote again, with a separate letter to Justus Jonas, commending his courage. Adopting his theological manner, Hutten confronted Luther with 'a thick incense of biblical texts'.
8. This time it was from Ps. 20. 9.

Somewhere in between these two letters, Hutten began writing in German. Success depended upon the goodwill of the knights and the weight of opinion in the towns. To claim attention, he must speak to these people in their own tongue, as Luther's example showed. Accordingly, he brought up in German some of his earlier Latin 'big guns against Rome'.¹⁰ Now at last things would be set in motion, and Germany begin to learn wisdom.¹¹ On the title-page of this work appeared a bearded Yahweh and a cloud-borne King David with his harp. Beside the title stood Luther, and Hutten in full armour, and down below, a party of armed men striking terror into a huddle of priests, with a suitable caption from Ps. 26: "I have hated the company of the reproachers."

Hutten's predilection for Ps. 94 is understandable. The fanfare challenge of its opening and the martial ring of its appeals were irresistible. Yet the psalm was one signpost misread by Hutten. Parts of it he seems not to have read at all.¹² Luther perceived only too well where Hutten was wrong. While the impetuous knight itched

for some show of enthusiasm from him, Luther was writing to Spalatin: "You can see what Hutten is after. I would not wish the Gospel to be fought for with violence and killing; I have written to the man to this effect. Through the Word, the world has been subdued... And even the Antichrist will be crushed without violence, through the Word." 13. But alas for Luther's own hopes.

Both Ps. 94 and Ps. 26 are thought to belong to the Greek period, of which Reformation Germany is in some ways so sharply faithful a reflection. Each of the two psalms seized upon by Hutten, in his zeal for battle, gives an account of religious strife in Israel. But the point which Hutten overlooked is the long-suffering of both psalmists, and the reason for it. The writer of Ps. 26, no doubt a priest, appears to go perilously close to the edge of spiritual pride; the writer of Ps. 94, no doubt a musician, goes equally close to crude anthropomorphism. But their steadfast endurance springs from one thing alone: knowledge of the love of God. 14. Ps. 94 points as well to his divine justice, 15. and it is unwise, as Luther knew, for men to attempt to show Yahweh his business by taking matters into their own hands.

Before ever Luther had finished Aus tiefer Not, it was all over with Hutten and Sickingen. The power of the German knighthood was broken, and the years of the

absolute power of princes were beginning. In a letter to his old friend Coban Messe, written not very long before he died, Hutten voiced a fading echo of Ps.94, 16. and went on: "Erasmus has ignominiously deserted the cause of the Gospel." To be fair to Erasmus, he believed that his holding aloof from the Reformation was likely to be less of a danger to Luther's essential work than was Hutten's rash ardour. It is one of the most poignantly tragic aspects of Hutten's failure, that he of all men of the time might most successfully have bridged the gap between the great liberal mind of Erasmus and Luther's inflexible singleness of religious purpose.†7.

Notes:

1. Francke, Einleitung, 1: Wenn wir die Geschichte der deutschen Kultur vom Anfang des 16. bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts überblicken, so können wir uns des Gefühls der Tragik nicht erwehren...(2) Die Zersplitterung in eine Unmasse kleinlicher konfessioneller und lokaler Gegensätze herbei, erstickt den Schwung und die Freiheit des volkstümlichen Lebens, lähmt die Phantasie und die Gedanken selbst der Besten, und treibt Deutschland endlich in jene furchtbare Katastrophe, die den nationalen Wohlstand vernichtet, die nationale Kultur um Jahrhunderte zurückschraubt und den deutschen Staat aus der Reihe der europäischen Mächte so gut wie ausschaltet.

2. Stammeler, 305-306: Es liegt eine tiefe Tragik in Luthers Schicksal: dass er sich von einer Kirche lossagte, deren Dogmen er als erstarrt erkannt hatte, und nach einem persönlichen Christentum strebte - und dass er dann doch wieder zur Gründung einer neuen Kirche gelangte, deren Dogmen schon zu seinen Lebzeiten wieder erstarrten und unpersönlich wurden.

3. Francke, 72-73: Dass Hutten selber, besiegt, verlassen, verstossen, als ein Flüchtling jenseits der deutschen Grenzen ins Grab sank, ist ein ergreifendes Symbol der tragischen Wendung, welche die Geschichte Deutschlands von dem Augenblicke an nahmen, wo die Reformation den Humanismus von sich stiess und damit von einer allgemein menschlichen zu einer im engeren Sinne kirchlichen Angelegenheit herabsank.

4. Francke, 51: Vielleicht waren die deutschen Massen noch nicht reif für die Aufnahme einer grundsätzlich rationalistischen Weltanschauung.

5. Ps. 94²¹ and 23.

6. Ps. 26⁴.

7. Strauss, II, 62. Hutten to Luther, 1520.

8. Strauss, II, 185: In seine theologische Manier eingehend, tritt er ihm mit einem dicken Rauchwerke biblischer, insbesondere alttestamentlicher Sprüche entgegen.

9. Knox, Ps. 19 (Vulgate numbering):
The Lord listen to thee in thy time of need, the power of Israel's God be thy protection! May he send thee aid from his holy place ... May he grant thee what thy heart desires.

10. Strauss, II, 117: - Während Hutten hier nur das schwere Geschütz gegen Rom noch einmal auffahren wollte.

11. Strauss, II, 37: - und endlich die Welt in Bewegung komme und Deutschland klug werde.

Luther's Bible, Ps. 94⁸: Merket doch, ihr Narren unter dem Volk, und ihr Thoren, wann wollt ihr klug werden?

12. 12. Wohl dem, den du, Herr, züchtigest, und lehrest ihn durch dein Gesetz.

13. Dass er Geduld habe, wenn es Übel gehet, bis dem Gottlosen die Grube bereitet werde.

13. Strauss, II, 136.

14. Common Prayer, Ps. 26³: For thy loving-kindness is ever before mine eyes.

Oesterley, 417, Ps. 94¹⁸: When I said:

"My foot slippeth," thy love, Yahweh, upheld me.

15. Oesterley, 419: It is necessary to insist sometimes on the truth that there is such a thing as divine retributive justice... God who is righteous cannot condone sin; nevertheless, punishment for sin is not an act of divine vengeance, but the ineluctable consequence of departing from the path of righteousness.

16. Strauss, II, 310: Ich gebe die Hoffnung nicht auf... gebet auch ihr sie nicht auf, denn Er hat Rächeraugen, denen nichts entgeht. Erasmus ist schmäählich abgefallen von der Sache des Evangeliums..

17. Strauss, II, 300: Dadurch eben war Hutten so einzig, dass er mit der humanistischen Geistesweite den reformatorischen Willensdrang vereinigte ... Der Humanismus ist der breite, spiegelnde Rhein bei Bingen: er muss erst enger und wilder werden, wenn er sich durch das Gebirg die Strasse zum Meere bahnen will.

BURKARD WALDIS

1490 (?) - 1556

Martin Luther entered the Augustinian monastery in Erfurt; Ulrich von Hutten, the Benedictine abbey in Fulda; Burkard Waldis, the house of the Franciscans in Riga. Even under different circumstances, it is unlikely that any of the three would have been satisfied for long in such an environment. The 'Italian Journey' made by Waldis as a loyal son of the Church produced much the same shocks and surprises as did Luther's. The sturdy-minded Hessian was quick to take offence at the scorn of the Italians for all things

German. He had been despatched from Riga to see if the Church's position could be strengthened against Luther, whose writings were being avidly read. He and the two friars with him persuaded the temporal power to issue vigorous warnings, and the ecclesiastical power to send interdictory letters. But, unfortunately for the emissaries, the city fathers in Riga were pro-Lutheran, and clapped all three into prison the minute they returned. For Waldis, it was a timely chance to think things over. When he announced his Übertritt, and laid aside the cowl of the shorn rabble ("die beschorne Rotte"), he was allowed to go free. After his release, Waldis got himself most unhappily married, and set up a flourishing business as a tin-founder. At the end of 1536, he was imprisoned a second time. He had rashly become involved in an intrigue, and assisted the instigator of the plot by acting as a go-between on his business journeys about the country. On one such trip he was caught, and so began the ordeal which lasted for the next three or four years.¹

In a desperate plight, Waldis turned to the Psalter, to find expression for the indignities he was forced to suffer. By identifying himself with the psalmists, he began to pour out the anguish of his personal situation, and to get some relief from it. 2. He was not freed until after the middle of 1540. Leaving Riga and all its unpleasant memories behind, he made his way back to Allendorf on

the Werra. The year 1541 found him in Wittenberg for the winter semester, studying under Luther, in the hope of becoming an evangelical pastor. Eventually appointed to Abterode, not far from his home, he set about finishing the Psalter begun in prison. 3.

The versions of Waldis show a fine balance between deep personal feeling and the confessional integrity required of the true Bekenntnislied. Gut lutherisch they certainly were, and a number of them found their way into various sixteenth-century collections; a few survived until late in the seventeenth century. Perhaps because of the sincerity of their subjective approach, they enjoyed general favour. Perhaps for the same reason, and because there was some unevenness in their technical merit, they were never adopted for church use as a whole. There were 155 versions altogether, five of the psalms being versified twice. It is a matter of no great astonishment that Waldis, with his dubiously colourful experience of the world, should depart from Luther's early practice and employ a variety of forms reminiscent of both sacred and secular models. 4. Sometimes his patterns are quite arresting. 5. Wackernagel gives some forty-eight psalms, about which he is careful to state that he has included only such poems as were taken up into various congregational hymn-books. 6.

It is pertinent to note that, of those given by Wackernagel, fifteen are either Individual Laments or

Individual Thanksgivings (Klagelieder/Danklieder des Einzelnen) in Gunkel's classification, and that another four belong to a related group called Psalms of Confidence (Vertrauenspsalmen). These are numerically balanced by nine examples of one type or another of Liturgy, eight Hymns, a Communal Lament and a Communal Thanksgiving (Klagelied/Danklied des Volkes). Of the five psalms done twice over, 7. Wackernagel prints three, each of which is an Individual Lament. Curiously enough, the one Communal Thanksgiving amongst them, Ps. 138, does not appear as having been accepted for church use.

There is nothing equivocal about Waldis, when he sets out to write a Bekenntnislied. His version of Ps. 12 (Salvum me fac) leaves no doubts concerning his intention. 8. But the psalms which reflect his personal sufferings are often deeply moving. His Ps. 13, at whatever point of time it may have been written, recalls the bitterness of a desolation almost beyond hope. 9. Waldis's Ps. 88 is not given by Wackernagel, but the wail of the Hebrew poet comes immediately to mind: "I am so fast in prison that I cannot get forth," 10. and the terrible cry which precedes it. But whereas Ps. 88 is unique in the Psalter as "a desperate cry of suffering, unrelieved by a single ray of comfort or of hope," 11. Ps. 13 points a way back into 'the land of the living'. 12. So Waldis learned how to wait and to endure.

His version of Ps. 142 shows a fusion of two contrasting elements, one characteristic of the Bekenntnislied, the other belonging more properly to the Erbauungslied. Oesterley's introduction to the Hebrew lyric furnishes an interesting comparison.¹³ In the Waldis poem, we find that the emphasis on a purely personal predicament has changed. The version must have been written late, when he was doing battle in Abterode with forces of whose strength he was only too well aware, and in the knowledge that others were relying upon his constancy. For he omits or modifies the very thing we should expect him to include, and inserts doctrinal material to which no reference is made by the Hebrew writer. And much of it has a very familiar ring.¹⁴

The psalmist pleads: "Bring my soul out of prison," but Waldis does not mention the word. And where the ancient singer longs for the land of the living here and now, Waldis writes: "Lord, thou art my certain hope, and thou wilt give me my portion with them that live eternally."¹⁵ Surely this is the man instructed by Luther in the winter of 1541, whose memory of the dungeon has been transmuted rather than erased. He is growing old, and Luther is no longer there, and the Gospel is being threatened on every side.

With Ps. 143, Waldis completed his five repeated versions. The psalm belongs amongst the Penitentials, and is remarkable for the extent of its indebtedness to other

psalms. Like Waldis, its writer knew his Psalter, and drew upon the wisdom of the past. It shows a heightened consciousness of sin, and here Waldis joins company with the Hebrew writer as a man of considerable spiritual stature. The quondam Franciscan had paid dearly for his sins of indiscretion, brought upon him by his own impetuous nature. Now he could at least see that they were sins, and that he was himself largely responsible for many of his griefs.

A strongly developed religious sense always finds it amazing that a man's misdeeds are not held against him for ever, as something which, having been committed, can never be expiated. But, although the consequences of sin still have to be faced, forgiveness follows upon contrition. All forward movement in the life of the spirit seems to depend on a realization that this gift of grace is there. In spite of finding it so hard to believe, Luther placed it as the cornerstone of his Reformation, this mystery so conveniently ignored by the hierarchy of priests.¹⁶ So Waldis introduces his Ps.¹⁴³ as a prayer for forgiveness.

In common with many of the Individual Laments, the Hebrew psalm shows a feature called by Gunkel the Certainty of a Hearing (die Gewissheit der Erhörung), and what may be said of Waldis's Psalter as a whole is true of this version in particular: that in it we see a man whose hard-won peace of soul could never again be shaken by the vicissitudes of

life.17. "Yet do I remember the time past," sings the psalmist; and here Waldis lingers and elaborates, before taking up the theme again.18.

Notes: 1. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol.40, 704: - und die Folter sorgte dafür, dass er seinen Peinigen mancherlei Geständnisse zum Besten gab.

2. A D B, Vol.40, 708: Und eben dieses subjective Element gibt seinem Psalter sein eigentümliches Gepräge und verleiht ihm eine Wärme und Innigkeit, die den meisten übrigen Psalmendichtungen der Zeit mangelten.

3. Julian, 1542: Der Psalter, in newe Gesangsweise und künstliche Reimen gebracht. Frankfurt-am-Main, 1553. By Burkard Waldis, completed while he was pastor at Abterode in Hesse.

4. Wackernagel, Bibliographie, 254, DCXLVI: Die Form der Strophe ist nicht, wie bei J. Magdeburg, durchgängig die (4+3) zeilige, in der Luther seine ersten Psalmlieder dichtete, sondern eine sehr verschiedene, den Formen anderer, weltlicher und geistlicher, Lieder entnommen.

Ps.23: 5. Wackernagel, Kld. III, 655 (Nro.752):
Gleich wie ein Schaff im holtz verwirt
vnd gar verirt,
Waß nit der Hirt
bald innen wirt
Uñ ruffts zu jm
mit seiner stim,
so frisst gewiss der wolff so grīm:

2. Also sind wir auch alle sand
in Gottes hand... 663 (Nro.762):

Ps.65: Herr Got, man lobt dich zu Zion
der gnaden thron
vnd gibt dir deine ehre,
Weil du erhörst der arme bit,

verachtest nit
all die sich zu dir keren:
Die missethat
un̄ sünd vns hat
geengstet sehr...

673 (Nro.777):

Ps.117:

Haleluia,
singt vnd seit fro,
jr heyden all,
mit reichem schall!
Lobt Gott den Herrn
mit grossen ehrn,
in allem landt
sein Euangelion macht bekandt!

6. Kld.III, 650: Dergleichen Angaben werde ich, so weit meine Kenntnisse reichen, in der Kürze zu jedem der nachfolgenden Lieder dieses Dichters machen, um zu zeigen, dass ich nur solche mitgeteilt, welche Aufnahme in Gemeindegesangbücher gefunden.

7. Pss. 13, 20, 138, 142, 143.

8. Wackernagel, Kld. III, 650 (Nro.745):

Str.2.

Sie reden all auss falschem mund
mit vneynigem hertzen,
Ir ler steht loss, hat keinen grund,
den gwissen macht sie schmerzten,
Mit Pegfewr, Ablass, Mess vnd Bañ
die gantze welt verführet han,
das lass dich, HERR, erbarmen.

Str.6.

Dabei wölstu vns, Herre Gott,
in einfalt reyn behüten
Vor dieser verfürischen Rott
für jrer list vnd wüten:
Dann wo der Gotloss hauff regiert,
da wirt dein volck genarrt, verführt
in ein Abgöttisch wesen.

9. Wackernagel, Kld. III, 651 (Nro.746):

Ach, HERR, wie lang wiltu ietz mein
so gar vnd gantz vergessen?
Verbirgst das frölich antlitz dein,
weil mich vnfal besessen?
Wie lang sol sich
ängsten teglich
mein seel vnd hertz verschmachten?

Wie lang sol doch
der feind mir nach
stellen vnd gar verachten
vnd vber mich erheben?

10. Luther's Bible, Ps.88: 5. Ich bin
geachtet gleich denen, die zu der Hölle fahren; ich bin
wie ein Mann, der keine Hülfe hat. 6. Ich liege unter
den Todten verlassen... 9. Meine Freunde hast du ferne
von mir gethan, du hast mich ihnen zum Greuel gemacht.
Ich liege gefangen, und kann nicht auskommen.

11. Oesterley, 393.

12. Luther's Bible, Ps. 27 ¹³: Ich glaube
aber doch, dass ich sehen werde das Gute der Herrn im Lande
der Lebendigen.

Ps.142 ⁶: Du bist meine
Zuversicht, mein Theil im Lande der Lebendigen.

13. Oesterley, 563-564: We have in this
psalm one of the most pathetic appeals in the Psalter; it
is uttered by an individual who is the victim of insidious
foes; they have brought a slanderous accusation against
him, and have caused him to be imprisoned... That he should
feel himself utterly forsaken is natural enough... Notable
is the fact that in spite of his sufferings, the psalmist
utters no vindictive cry for vengeance.

14. Wackernagel, Kld.III, 678 (Nro.786):

Str.1

hilff, dass mich nit zerrütte
Mein feind, der mir mit falscher
lehr,
vil stricke legt runds vmb mich her,
mit heuchelei vmbziehen,
ich kan jm nit entfliehen.

Str.2

15. sprech 'HERR, du bist mein zuversicht,
mein theyl wirstu mir geben
mit den die Ewig leben.'

16. Wackernagel, Kld. III, 7 (Nro.6):

Str.2.

Bey dyr gillt nichts den gnad vnd gonst,
die sunden zu vergeben.

Str.5.

Ob bey vns ist der sunden viel,
bey Gott ist viel mehr gnaden.

17. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 40, 708: - ein lebendiges Bild dieses tüchtigen Mitstreiters für das Werk der Reformation, das Bild eines tapferen und frommen Mannes, dem alle Wechselfälle seines bewegten Lebens den schwer erkämpften Frieden seiner Seele nicht wieder erschüttern konnten.

18. Wackernagel, Kld. III, 679 (Nro. 787):
Str. 4
Doch denck ich an dein wunderthat
von alten alten zeiten,
wie du barmhertzigkeyt und gnad
erzeygt hast allen leuten,
Und was gewircket hat dein handt,
wie du vergabst die Sünde,
Solchs wirt der gantzen welt bekandt,
dass gnad bei dir zu finden.

WOLFGANG DACHSTEIN

1487 (?) - 1553

and

MATTHÄUS GREITER

1495 (?) - 1550

Luther had thrashed out the question of remorse and forgiveness, from his first excursion into print with the Seven Penitential Psalms, to the Pagan Servitude of the Church.

His quarrel with the priests was that, in the Sacrament of Penance, they had forgotten to make any mention of faith. And against those guilty of so great an error, he thundered: "May the Lord curse the sterile willows growing by the rivers which belong to men like that. Amen." Then, putting his own case with admirable clarity, he went on: "A contrite

heart is a matter of very great importance, but it is only found in connection with an ardent faith in God's promises of reward and punishment... Once faith is present, contrition and divine comfort follow naturally and inevitably."2.

When he began to discuss marriage, which he refused to regard as a sacrament at all, Luther described with reckless vulgarity the market-place trafficking of the Romanists.3. But on the moral implications of impotence and divorce, he found himself in some perplexity, being content to say: "So I hang up my harp, until I can discuss the subject with another and wiser man than myself."4. In a treatise entitled De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae Praeludium, it is hardly to be wondered at that he should make passing references to Ps.137, and it was cleverly done. The harp is an instrument of music, and praeludium is a musical term. The prelude prepares a listener's mind for a more formal composition to follow, as we find it doing with such infinite variety for the fugues of J.S. Bach. And it is perhaps true to say that Ps.137 belongs to musicians rather than to theologians. In An Wasserflüssen Babylon, Wolfgang Dachstein produced one of the finest melodies of the Reformation, because the pathos of the situation of the exiles made such an appeal to his imagination.

If we accept Oesterley's interpretation of it, the Hebrew psalm was written by a deportee recently

returned to Palestine from Babylon, as a result of the decree of Cyrus. It is a vivid account of a remembered incident. To the accompaniment of little harps, he and his friends had been singing 'Yahweh-songs' in the shade of the willows down by the river. Suddenly they were interrupted by a group of curious Babylonians, eager to hear some music of Zion. But the Lord's songs were not for the ears of heathen plunderers; the Jews hung their harps on the trees in angry silence, with hatred smouldering in their eyes. Probably the Babylonians laughed it off as just another instance of the crazy independence of the captives; for they themselves worshipped gods "before whom Yahweh would seem like a pathetically poor relation,"⁵ such was the elaborate display of their ritual. What they did not realize, however, was that the Jews saw in Yahweh the one God before whom all the magnificence of Babylonian idolatry was nonsense. In a passion of religious zeal, then, the psalmist had made a vow: if I forget Jerusalem, may I never sing another note, may this hand that plucks the strings lose all its skill. And for a musician, that is a good deal to say.

After studying in Erfurt at the same time as Luther, Dachstein became a Dominican monk in Strasbourg. In about 1523, he left the Order and threw in his lot with the evangelicals. By 1525 he was contributing psalm versions with melodies to the Teutsch Kirchenampt, as part of the

programme of liturgical reform. He is to be regarded as the first Reformation organist of any real consequence. It is an interesting sidelight on the church music of the times that he was able to fill two posts simultaneously, one at the Thomaskirche, the other at the Minster, since the organ was not extensively used in the services of the early reformed worship. But Dachstein was faced with a difficulty when by the terms of the Interim, Luther's supporters were excluded from the cathedral church. He solved it by reverting to his old loyalties, and kept his place at the organ there as a Roman Catholic for the last years of his life. In the texts which he wrote for his melodies, he kept faithfully to his models, except for some artless twists and turns.⁶

In the horrible lines which conclude the psalm, the Hebrew writer personifies the pagan metropolis: "O daughter of Babylon, thou devastater."⁷ The deportation of the Jews had been carried out in stages: the cream of their society was taken away in 597 B.C., after Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Jerusalem; others were removed more than ten years later, following the destruction of the city. It is to this that the psalmist is referring, and perhaps his violent comments on dashing the babies of Babylon against the rock are made a little less inexcusable by it. In the past, the passage has been differently understood. Luther read: Du verstörte Tochter Babel. Dachstein went one better, insin-

ting on the cold-blooded murder of the children, so that the memory of Babylon might be altogether wiped out. The passage shows an artist-musician at work, balancing the possibilities of his source material, just as he balanced the phrases of his melody.⁸ It is a wonderful tune, yet the hymn occupies a strangely anomalous position in German psalmody. The qualities which Bach later discovered in it seem to derive almost exclusively from the music, which has so definite a feeling of key.⁹

This importance of the musical element evidently had something to do with the original inclusion of the lyric in the Psalter: "As an ancient folk-song this psalm was in later days incorporated in the great national collection; but that it was ever used liturgically in the worship of the temple may well be doubted. It is not used in the worship of the Synagogue."¹⁰

Notes:

1, 2. Woolf, 282-283. See also 205: In 1521 there appeared a German translation of Luther's Latin, made by Thomas Murner, a bitter enemy. The translation was evidently intended to damage Luther's cause by circulating the work amongst the laity, for whom it was not originally meant. The effect, however, was quite the opposite. Murner's German is given in Borchardt and Merz, II, 151 - 254.

3. Woolf, 297: The Romanists of today have become market-stall holders. What is it they sell? It is

male and female pudenda - there is no impediment to marriage nowadays which they cannot legitimize for money.

4. Woolf, 308.

Luther's Bible, Ps. 137 ²: Unsere Harfen hingen wir an die Weiden, die darinnen sind.

5. Clarendon Bible, O.T. IV, 4.

6. Wackernagel, Kld. III, 98 (Nro.135):

Wir hingen vff mit schwerem mut
die orglen (?) vnd die harpffen gut
an yere böum der weyden,
Die drinnen sind in irem land;
da müsten wir vil schmach vnd schand
teglich von jnen leyden.

7. Oesterley, 546.

Compare Common Prayer, Ps. 137 ⁸:
O daughter of Babylon, wasted with misery...

Oesterley, 548: - the emendation is needed for the corrupt Hebrew text, 'the devastated', would imply that Babylon had already fallen; whereas the verbs are all in the future tense; and, in any case, Babylon was not devastated when conquered by Cyrus.

8. Str.3: Iherusalem, vergless ich din,
so welle got...

Str.5: Du schöne dochter Babilon,
zerbrochen vnd zerstöret!
Wol dem der deine kinder klein
erfasst vnd schlecht sy an den
stein,
damit din werd vergessen.

9. See Percy Scholes, The Oxford Companion to Music (Seventh edition), 494: Key is a quality that gradually crept into European music during the sixteenth century and began gradually to creep out of it from the beginning of the twentieth. So far, then, from being, as many people have taken for granted, a fundamental element in music, it appears (alarmingly to some) to be a mere passing phenomenon. But Time has not yet fully declared his intentions.

Ernst Pauer, The Beautiful in Music, Novello's Music Primers, No.16, 23: G major, that favourite key of youth, expresses sincerity of faith, quiet love, calm meditation, simple grace, pastoral life, and a certain humour and brightness.

* * *

It must have been difficult for men who had begun as monks to find in themselves and in women the attributes which would make marriage work. By a near-miracle, Luther found them with a runaway nun, foisted on him by conditions which he himself had brought about. Burkard Waldis was not so fortunate. And in the year of Luther's death, a close friend of Wolfgang Dachstein was in serious trouble. Matthäus Greiter had married more than twenty years earlier, after going over to Lutheranism. When an accusation of adultery was made against him, he found it almost impossible to make a living in Strasbourg at all. But then, like Dachstein, towards the end of his life and as a consequence of the Interim, he became a Roman Catholic again and was reinstated as Cantor of the cathedral.

As a musician, Greiter was one of the daring spirits of his age.¹¹ He knew Calvin personally, and some of his psalm-tunes were taken over into the Genevan Psalter, which was to have such far-reaching effects in Germany. He has been credited with as many as twenty hymns, for which he supplied his own texts. Wackernagel gives seven of them,

including a version of the beginning of Ps.119, Es sind doch selig alle.12. The beautiful melody came to be associated with a very long poem by Sebald Heyden (1525), on the Passion as recorded in the four Gospels.13. The powers of endurance of Lutheran congregations must be acknowledged with respect, if it was ever the custom to sing this through. But the melody was intended originally for the acrostic psalm which celebrates the divine Law as "the most beautiful of all possessions, more precious than gold." 14.

Greiter's verses can claim no special merit. Nowadays they seem pedestrian and heavy. The Hebrew psalm itself, of course, is inclined to become monotonous, because of its length and artificial structure. Even so it has beauties which Greiter somehow missed, until his music discovered them. There is a touching sense of self-insufficiency in the original text, and Greiter lumbers along, left far behind. 15. But once let him say it in music, and he matches anything the psalmist can do. His version of Ps.13 will barely stand comparison with that of Burkard Waldis, though there are parts of it which, in the light of subsequent events, are not without their human appeal. 16. Greiter adds a rather ponderous doxology. It is the same with his Ps.51, the great Miserere, which he puts into five 13-line stanzas. The version made by Erhart Hegenwalt, and sung to Johann Walther's modal melody, is more straightforward and effec-

tive.17. Greiter wastes words in his laborious search for a rhyme, and the mood is broken.18.

Reasonable fault-finding is part of the serious student's privilege, but there are times when it makes nothing but itself seem absurd. Had Dachstein and Greiter not lived precisely when and where they did, the interplay of circumstances which culminated in Germany's Blütezeit of psalmody might never have come about. Of the three great reformers, Zwingli was probably the most gifted musically, yet he did his best to banish music from worship. On the other hand, Calvin, the least musical of the three, was convinced of biblical evidence for the divine origin of music; this meant that he was prepared to accept its psychic power over men as a good thing.19. But it might be put to dangerous misuse. So the sensuous delights of part-singing had to yield to the more austere satisfaction of unaccompanied unison song in the French tongue, moreover to notes befitting the text.20. And because it was the sole function of service music to bring home to the people the all-important Word, the Psalter was to be used exclusively.

Calvin's choice of the Psalter alone for this purpose was more or less accidental.21. He himself made six psalm versions; four of the melodies sung to them were by Greiter, the other two by Dachstein. Here to his hand was the work of two "melody-shapers of a special artistic

order." 22. Perhaps the most astonishing tribute to Matthäus Greiter was the singing of his Ps. 51 by a congregation said to have numbered some four thousand, 23. and this a year or so before the death of Zwingli on the field of battle. The Reformation in Switzerland was determined to sing, and the rhythmical pattern for the whole of the Genevan Psalter was taken from two Strasbourg prototypes: Greiter's Es sind doch selig alle and Dachstein's An Wasserflüssen Babylon, 24.

Notes: 11. Neue Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 7, 41: Greiter wird zum bedeutendsten Musiker seiner Zeit im alemannischen Raum.

12. Wackernagel, Kld. III, 91 (Nro. 121): Das dritt theyl Strassburger kirchenamt. MDXXV.

13. Wackernagel, Kld. III, 553 (Nro. 603): O Mensch, beweyn deyn sünde gross.

Terry, II, No. 297: Hymn, by Sebald Heyd, in twenty-three 12-line stanzas (1525). Melody, by (?) Matthäus Greiter (1525), to Es sind doch selig alle (Ps. cxix).

14. Oesterley, 486.

15. Common Prayer, Ps. 119⁵: O that my ways were made so direct: that I might keep thy statutes!

Luther's Bible, Ps. 119: 5. O dass mein Leben deine Rechte mit ganzem Ernst hielte! 6. Wenn ich schaue allein auf deine Gebote, so werde ich nicht zu Schanden.

Greiter, Str. 2.:

O Gott, das alles leben min
gerichtet wurd nach gfallen din,
zū halten dine rechte!
Denn wurd ich nit zū schanden gan,

wenn ich gantz fleissig schawet an
deine gepott all schlechte.

16. Wackernagel, Kld. III, 89 (Nro. 119):

Str. 3.

Vnd ob ich fiel in sünd vnd leyd,
mein feind würd sich erspringen.
Ich hoff in dein barmhertzigkait,
dem herren wil ich singen.

Mein hertz frewt sich in deinem heyl,
der mich begabt mit güttem teil,
sein namen wil ich preysen.

17. Wackernagel, Kld. III, 48 (Nro. 70):

Erbarm dich meyn. o herre got. Appeared
in the Erfurter Enchiridion, 1524.

Terry, I, No. 81: Hymn, by Erhart Hegenwalt,
in five 8-line stanzas (1524). Melody, by (?) Johann Walther
(1524).

18. Wackernagel, Kld. III, (Nro. 120):

Str. 4.

Brandopffer auch gleich alle sant
gfallen dir nit, seind nun ein tandt
vor deinen augen, nur ein has:
die opffer gots seind aber das,
ein gar zerbrochen geyste.

Str. 5.

Ein brochen vnd zerschlagen hertz
wirstu nit werffen hinderwertz
und wirst es nit verachten,
das kan ich wol betrachten.

19. Blume, 347: Die Gewissheit um den
göttlichen Ursprung der Musik entnahm er 1. Mose 4, 31,
d.h. der Herkunft und Gestalt Jubals; das bedeutete für
ihn zugleich, dass die Musik als seelische Macht einen
Dienst an Menschen zu erfüllen habe.

20. Blume, 348: Dass der gottesdienstliche
Gesang nicht seinerseits der Gefahr des Sinnengenusses
verfällt, soll vermieden werden durch seine Anpassung an
den Text. Der Grundsatz des "convenable an sujet" wurde
bestimmend.

Schweitzer, I, 20: As the Calvinist
church found no sacred folk-songs already in existence, it

was compelled to borrow even more largely than the German Church. O. Douen has shown, in his interesting work on Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot, the process by which the melodies were compiled for the Psalter. Even Calvin had to laugh - for the only time in his life - when he saw the most frivolous tunes walking along, chastely and devoutly, hand in hand with the lofty poems of David and Solomon.

21. Blume, 348: - beruht sicher auf einer geschichtlichen Zufälligkeit, nämlich auf der Tatsache, dass Calvin das Singen gereimter Psalmen wohl bereits in Frankreich, vor allem aber in Basel und Strassburg kennenlernte, bevor er sein reformatorisches Werk begann.

22. Blume, 350: - zwei greifbare Melodiegestalter von besonderem künstlerischem Rang ... wie sehr diese aber, der damaligen deutschen Situation entsprechend, ganz und gar nach Meistersinger-Art und Verwendung von älteren Vorlagen und Melodiebruchstücken Weisen schufen, zeigt Greitters berühmteste Weise.

23. Blume, 344: - im Zusammenhang mit einer Predigt Zillis am 7. März 1529, wobei die angeblich etwa 4000 Hörer Matthäus Greitters O Herre Gott, begnade mich... gesungen haben sollen.

24. Blume, 353: Stellen diese rhythmischen Gebilde nur eine Seite des Strassburger Melodieschaffens dar, so wurden in Genf nach diesen Grundtypen sämtliche Melodien ausgerichtet.

3. TO THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

NICOLAUS SELNECKER

1532 - 1592

A FEW MONTHS AFTER the massed singing of Greiter's Miserere, Philip of Hesse called the Marburg Colloquy, "in order to compose the quarrel concerning the Lord's Supper."¹ All those taking part were hopeful of finding a solution. Zwingli came from Zürich, Oecolampadius from Basle, Bucer from Strasbourg, each prepared for open-minded discussion. But Luther disappointed all three with his rather acid refusal to make any concessions: "Your spirit and our spirit do not go together. It is evident that we do not have the same spirit." ² The Landgrave's plan for a confederation firmly based on a common confession was already doomed to failure.

On top of the great central issue separating Catholics and Protestants, and quite aside from radical movements beginning within 'the brotherhood of the discontent',³ the confusing distinction between Orthodox reformed and Reformed reformed had begun. Just at the moment when Luther seemed disposed to join with the Swiss, he was turned aside by Melancthon. And this same Melancthon, really so much of an Erasmian, was presently to draw up the conciliatory and moderate Augsburg Confession. But even this, and on the same difficulty over the Sacrament, ended in the presentation of three separate statements of faith. Twenty-five years

afterwards, the Peace of Augsburg offered Germans a choice between Lutheranism and Roman Catholicism. The main breach was at last formalized, but without any mention of Calvinism, which was to become the most vigorous expression of the Reformation spirit.

At the time of the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, a Venetian observer described the division of the city into factions. There were the Papists, with their images and canonical hours; there were the Lutherans, more numerous, but rather disgruntled; and there were the followers of Zwingli, in considerable numbers. He was particularly impressed by one thing: "All the people sing the Psalms of David, most melodiously, causing great spiritual joy and consolation to the hearers."⁴ It is fruitless, though irresistible, to ponder what might have happened had things gone just a little differently at Marburg; had Luther not expected, as the basis of any agreement, the surrender of all other opinions to his own. The chance had come and gone, but the universal psalm-singing went on.

There was no peace of Augsburg or of any other city for Nicolaus Selnecker, who spent most of his adult life caught in the cross-fire of warring doctrinaires. As a boy of twelve, he became organist of the chapel in the Kaiserburg at Nürnberg. At eighteen, he was studying in Wittenberg, where he established a close personal relationship with

Melanchthon. At twenty-five, he was appointed second court preacher in Dresden, and his troubles began. The senior theologians of Saxony inclined towards Calvin's ideas on Consubstantiation; Selnecker did not. After Melanchthon's death in 1560, he moved closer and closer to the strict Lutherans; for which he was never forgiven by the Philippists. His position in Dresden became untenable, and he moved to Jena as professor of Theology. This post he was forced to vacate because he was not an 'extreme' Lutheran. Next he became professor of Theology at Leipzig, and pastor of the Thomaskirche, whence he was lent to Wolfenbüttel and Gandersheim. Here he was accused of being a Crypte-Calvinist, a term applied in Germany to Lutherans, and in France to professing Roman Catholics, who were supposed to sympathize secretly with Calvinistic teaching.

Consequently Selnecker went back to Leipzig, only to become involved once again in the controversy of the Sacrament. He helped to draw up the Formula of Concord, intended to unite the Lutherans and exclude the Calvinists as well as the Romanists. "Its authors, and specially Selnecker, were subjected to the most violent abuse both from the High Lutherans and from the Calvinists, so much so that he called 1579 his 'year of patience and silence'."5. Temporarily dismissed from his post for publishing a tract against Calvinism, he was recalled to Leipzig just before

his death. He can scarcely be blamed for writing as he did, in a 'Prayer in accordance with the precepts of Ps.55'.6. Oesterley makes this comment on the psalm: "It is classed by Gunkel as a 'Lament of the Individual', and Hans Schmidt still further specifies it as one of the poems used in legal process by an accused person, who is protesting his innocence and pleading for acquittal in the supreme court - the house of God."7.

There can be little doubt that Selnecker invited a good deal of the hostility he aroused.8. Yet he possessed a type of humility not to be expected in such a character. It shows, for example, in his farewell to Dresden, and again rather differently in his looking back on that farewell. He asks his hearers that any censure should be as kindly and generous as possible, and adds a solemn warning.9. These verses, which he tells us were based on Ps.141, appeared in the Psalter mit kurzen Summarien of 1578, but they were dropped from the Christliche Psalmen of 1587. In their place stood a four-part musical setting of a mere fifteen lines of verse, with the title Anno 1565. God knoweth why. 10. Selnecker's one consolation was now this: "Ich bin ja dein ... ich hab ja dich."

A similar rather enigmatic 'God knoweth' occurs in his Ps.142.11. This is not the attitude of a hardened polemic. However inflexible he may have been in the

heat of argument, Selnecker is here humbly putting his problem before the supreme arbiter of the ways of men.¹² And how fond he is of writing children's songs, constructed from the treasures of the Psalter. And how concerned he is for the rulers, lest any of these German children should come to harm; that they should do away with all injustice, and uphold discipline with honour; that they should be preserved from becoming tyrants, and from the dire results of their own wrath.

All this is conventional enough, but Selnecker is not afraid to speak out boldly, if he thinks the situation warrants it - All Christian folk know quite well that Luther, teacher of the Germans, prophet and hero, has laid low all false spirits with God's Word. Yet most of those holding power are seriously at fault, for it is their least concern to inquire what God wants, and to obey it. They overstep his commandments, placing wordly things first with great pomp and show. Then Selnecker lets them all know how he thinks a reigning prince should behave, by drawing their attention to the book of Deuteronomy.¹³

Now and then he goes so far as to pirate Luther's very words. In one prayer for those in authority, based on Ps. 60, it is Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich.¹⁴ The Da pacem, Domine, which Luther had translated into German, itself carries a reminder of Ps. 122. ¹⁵ And Selnecker

begins his 'Song from the Eighteenth Psalm' like this:

Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.¹⁶. Only in the second stanza does he bring in the introductory verse of the psalm:

"Herzlich lieb habe ich dich, Herr, meine Stärke."

But that belongs in a very special way to Selnecker's friend, Martin Schalling.

Notes:

1. Hillerbrand, 155. From the Hessian Chancellor's injunction to the participants.

2. Hillerbrand, 161.

3. Hillerbrand, 217. Thomas Müntzer.

4. Hillerbrand, 402. The source is given (415, Note 12) as C.E. Förstemann, Urkundenbuch z. Geschichte des Reichstages von Augsburg 1530, Band I (Halle, 1833).

5. Julian, 1039.

6. Wackernagel, Kld. IV, 273 (Nro. 368):

Behüt vns, Herr, für bösen Katzn,
die vorn lecken vnd hinten kratzn:
Dem Teuffel werden sie zu theil
vnd kommen vmb jhr Seelen heil.
Wo ist jetzund Gerechtigkeit?

To the point, perhaps, is Luther's Bible, Ps. 55⁷:
Ich sprach: O hätte ich Flügel wie Tauben, dass ich flöge
und etwa bliebe.

7. Oesterley, 283.

8. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 33, 691: Je näher wir ihn aber betrachten, umsomehr werden wir in unserer ungünstigen Meinung von ihm bestärkt ... ein rechthaberischer, zänkischer Pfaffe.

9. Wackernagel, Kld. IV, 241 (Nro. 343):

Summa valedictionis
geschrieben uñ geschehen zu Dresen Anno. 1565.
Donnerstag den 15. Martij
ex Psalmo 141.

Str. 3.

Nichts vñels ich vertuschen kan,
ich warne gern stets jederman ...

Str. 13.

Für Ketzerey im Sacrament
siht euch wol für, es gschicht behend.

10. Wackernagel, Kld. IV, 242 (Nro. 344):
In K hat Nic. Selnecker das Gedicht nicht aufgenommen,
dafür das folgende.

Anno 1565. Gott weis warumb.
- durchaus unter vierstimmigen Gesangnoten.

11. Wackernagel, Kld. IV, 241 (Nro. 342):

Str. 5.

Wo ich hinschaw bey nah vnd weit,
zur rechten vnd zur lincken seit,
Da ist vntrew vnd sicherheit,
ehrgeltz, zanck, hohmut, hertzenleid.

6.

Sie sind ob deinem wort getrent,
wenn ich was red, mich niemand kent...

8.

Ach HErr, du weist wol was ich mein.

12. Str. 9

Wolan, du bist mein zuuersicht,
zu dir sehrey ich vnd sag 'HErr, richt!'

13. Wackernagel, Kld, IV, 349 (Nro. 444):

Str. 3.

Luther, der Deutschen meister,
vñser Prophet vñnd Held,
Hat alle falsche Geister
mit Gottes Wort gefellt:

Das wissen alle Christenleut:
O weh dem deutschen Lande,
das nicht das mercket heut:

5.

Aber der gröste theile
der lieben Oberkeit
Hat ja ein Schuld vnd feile:
Christus gros noth jetzt leid,

Denn es ist jetzt die letzte sorg
das sie nach Gott vnd Lehre
fragt vnd alda gehorcht.

6.

Weltlich ding stelts für alles,
Welchs Gott verboten hat,
Mit grosser pracht vñnd schalles,
vbertritt Gotts Gebot,

Da er sagt diese wort mit krafft
'dein Kñg sol sein dein Bruder,
der dir alls gutes schafft.'

Luther's Bible: (5Mose 17¹⁵) So sollst du den zum Könige über dich setzen, den der Herr, dein Gott, erwählen wird. Du sollst aber aus deinen Brüdern einen zum Könige über dich setzen. Du kannst nicht irgend einen Fremden, der nicht dein Bruder ist, über dich setzen.

14. Wackernagel, Kld. IV, 275 (Nro.371):

Für die Obrigkeit, aus dem 60. Psalm:

Str.6.

Verleyh vns Frieden gnediglich,
es ist doch ja kein ander nicht
Der für vns könnte streiten mehr,
denn du allein, Christ vnsrer HERR.

Compare Morning and Evening Prayer:

Priest. Give peace in our time, O Lord.

Answer. Because there is none other that fighteth for us,
but only thou, O God.

15. Terry, II, No.332: Hymn, by Martin Luther, a translation of Da pacem, Domine (1529) with an additional unmetrical stanza (1566). Melody, an adaptation (1531) of Veni Redemptor gentium, with unmetrical addendum (1566).

V. Fiat pax in virtute tua

R. Et abundantia in turribus tuis.

Knox, Ps.121⁷ (Vulgate numbering):

Sit pax in moenibus tuis,

securitas in palatiis tuis!

Common Prayer, Ps.122⁷: Peace be within thy walls: and plenteousness within thy palaces.

16. Wackernagel, Kld, IV, 213 (Nro.306):

Ein veste Burgk ist vnsrer Gott,

darumb wil ich jhn loben.

Er rett vnd hilfft inn aller noth,

ob gleich die Welt thut toben.

MARTIN SCHALLING

1532 - 1608

Nicolaus Selnecker had powers and interests beyond theological disputation. After his 'year of patience and silence',

he was left in peace for a while, and had much to do with the development of the Motettenchor at St. Thomas's in Leipzig. Music and the Psalter were his great joys. And in his day and generation, he ranked with Helmbold and Ringwaldt as a hymn-writer. For the most part, his hymns have "the objective churchly character of those of the Reformation period, and indeed contain many reminiscences of them. Of the rest, many only too faithfully mirror the misfortunes and changes and conflicts of his life, and are full of personal matter, and careless in style."¹. By the time J.S. Bach took over the organ and the choir of the Thomaskirche, Selnecker was not very often heard. The complete collection of four-part settings used by Bach contains only one Selnecker text,² and only one Selnecker tune, sung either to a Ludwig Helmbold hymn or to verses written by Paul Gerhardt. ³. This is a slender memorial to a man who had fought so hard and written so much, but it is the way of posterity to perpetuate what it most needs, and to leave the rest.

It was otherwise with Martin Schalling who, so far as is known, wrote one solitary hymn, which soon took its place in the permanent heritage of German devotional song. The melody is anonymous, as so many of the good melodies are. In the skilful hands of Heinrich Schütz, the hymn became one of the glories of choral music in any company, and Bach harmonized it with amazing variety.⁴ In Herzlich

Lieb hab ich dich, O Herr, we possess the fruits of Schalling's moment of genius. Speaking of the second stanza in particular, C.F. Gellert exercises his critical faculty a little, then stops short in wonder at the effect produced by what he is criticizing.5.

Professor Gellert knew his Psalter. "At half past two yesterday afternoon, I was sitting with the door closed, reading for my edification in the Psalms. I had scarcely begun, when there came an imperious knocking."6. It was a messenger from Frederick the Great, summoning him to appear before the king. Had he not been interrupted in this way, he might have discovered how Schalling's hymn achieves what it does, for his own "und dennoch" holds the secret. According to Lauxmann, 7. Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, O Herr, is based on Ps. 18 and on Ps. 73, now commonly known as 'the great Nevertheless'. If Lauxmann is right, the hymn has elements of a psalm which, in its original form, is one of the very oldest in the Psalter, and of another which is very late. Schalling's effortless, and probably quite unconscious, bridging of this gap is the real reason for the immediate appeal made by his lines.

It is far too easy, merely to say that he regards the psalms as Christian documents identifying Jesus of Nazareth with God. That is self-evident, when he writes: "Herr Jesu Christ, mein Gott und Herr". The long process of

progressive revelation behind this is what draws man's minds back to the Psalter, where the beginnings of hope are to be found. Ps. 18, composed to commemorate an ancient king's victory over his enemies, describes the theophany: the reeling of mountains as Yahweh answers a call for help, and the consuming fire as he bows the heavens to come down. Then the graciousness of Yahweh's dealings with his Anointed is shown: as against the tight clashes of the battlefield, he is set in a place of liberty, a wide place, and the evening lamps are lit by Yahweh himself. Yet there are passages in which the writer's conception of God is seen to be restricted and undeveloped. "This psalm", says Oesterley, "illustrates a great religious truth in a way which is unparalleled in the Psalter... The self-revelation of God to man is granted only in accordance with man's capacity of apprehension."⁸.

"I love thee, Yahweh, my strength", cries the victorious warrior-king of Ps. 18. Yahweh has helped him because of his righteous conduct. It is just as simple as that. But unfortunately it is never quite as simple as that. The writer of Ps. 18 feels duly rewarded for his faithfulness to Yahweh, and secure for the future; ⁹ so the great fundamental issues go unanswered. The writer of Ps. 73 sees further.¹⁰ Here speaks a man brought low for all his uprightness, while men who are careless of God enjoy prosperity. "Nevertheless", he concludes, "I am alway by thee... Thou

shalt guide me with thy counsel, and after that receive me with glory. Whom have I in heaven but thee? And there is none upon earth that I desire in comparison of thee." 11.

This is "one of the few Old-Testament adumbrations of a genuine doctrine of immortality ... He is certain that a material event like the dissolution of the body is powerless to break the love-forged links of the soul." 12. To re-read Schalling after that is to understand him better:

Die ganze Welt nicht freuet mich,
Nach Himmel und Erd nicht frag ich.
Wenn ich dich nur kann haben.

Central in Ps. 73 is the problem of which Job is the classical statement: the apparent injustice of such unequal suffering among men. From near-despair, Job makes 'the great leap of faith'; 13. the psalmist reaches the conclusion that death cannot possibly be the end, God being what he knows him to be. Martin Schalling does not dwell on the difficult aspects of suffering. Beyond saying: "In allen Kreuz erhalte mich, Auf dass ichs trag geduldiglich", he leaves them alone altogether. But this very holding back is characteristic. 14.

Notes:

1. Julian, 1039-1040.

2. Terry, I, No. 2 : Ach, bleib bei uns, Herr

Jesus Christ. Melody, anonymous (1589), to Danket dem Herrn
heut und allzeit.

Most of the hymn is certainly by Selnec-
ker, part of it perhaps by somebody else. On the rather
curious pattern of its final form, see Wackernagel, Kld.IV,
286-287, and Julian, 1040.

3. Terry, II, Nos. 273, 274: Hun laasst uns
Gott den Herren. Hymn, by Ludwig Helmbold, in eight 4-line
stanzas (1575). Melody, by (?) Nikolaus Selnecker (1587).

No. 275: Wach auf, mein Herz, und singe.
Hymn, by Paul Gerhardt, in ten 4-line stanzas (1647).

4. Heinrich Schütz, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher
Werke (Bärenreiter, 1962), Band 5, Geistliche Chormusik,
1648, No. 19 (SWV 387).

Terry, I, Nos. 154-157: Herzlich lieb hab
ich dich, O Herr: Hymn, by Martin Schalling, in three 12-
line stanzas (1571). Melody, anonymous (1577).

5. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 30,
569: Gellert sagt über die 2. Strophe: "Sie hat viel Hartes
nach unserer itzigen Mundart und uns ungewöhnliche Verset-
zungen; und dennoch, wer kann sie ohne Bewegung, ohne dass
er fühlt, wie seine Seele von Dank und Demut durchdrungen
ist, singen oder lesen? Sie ist mehr wert, als ganze Bände
neuer Lieder ..." (Oden und geistliche Lieder, Vorrede).

6. Brief an Fräulein von Schönfeld, 1760.
Given in the Oxford Book of German Prose, 55 (No.27).

7. Julian, 1004. Quoting Koch, viii, 265.

8. Oesterley, 167.

9. Common Prayer, Ps. 18³⁵: Thy loving
correction shall make me great. And Oesterley, 163, trans-
lating the same passage: Thy encouragement strengtheneth
me ever.

10. Luther's Bible, Ps. 73¹³: Soll es denn
umsonst sein, dass mein Herz unsträflich lebet, und ich
meine Hände in Unschuld wasche? (14) Und bin geplaget täg-
lich, und meine Strafe ist alle Morgen da? (15) Ich hätte
auch schier so gesagt, wie sie, aber siehe, damit hätte ich
verdammnet alle deine Kinder, die je gewesen sind.

11. Common Prayer, Ps. 73²²⁻²⁴.

Luther's Bible (23): Dennoch bleibe ich

stets an dir, denn du hältst mich bei meiner rechten Hand.
(24) Du leitest mich nach deinem Rath, und nimmst mich
endlich mit Ehren an. (25) Wenn ich nur dich habe, so frage
ich nichts nach Himmel und Erde.

12. Oesterley, 344.

13. Oesterley and Robinson, 170. There must be still, beyond the grave, the possibility that God will see true justice done... This is not yet a general doctrine of immortality, though it contains the germ of one; but it does restore Job's confidence in the ultimate rightness of the universe and its Governor. To the great problem there is a solution, and here or hereafter it is possible for Job to know it.

14. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 30, 568: Er war ein wunderlicher Mann, der eine sonderliche, seltsame Weise, schnorrig und ernsthafte Rede an ihm hatte, der mit wenig Worten viel verabfasste.

PAUL SCHEDE (MELISSUS)

1539 - 1602

and

AMBROSIUS LOBWASSER

1515 - 1585

When Martin Schelling was preparing to leave Strasbourg for his theological studies in Wittenberg, his father warned him against becoming involved with any of the Sects, Zwinglian-ism in particular. But within a few years he was exchanging letters with Calvin, in the hope that their differences might be settled on the basis of the Augsburg Confession. Schelling did not disagree with the Reformed Reformation, except in the matter of the Sacrament. The further the correspondence went, however, the more clearly was this one

problem seen to be a stumbling-block. Even so, Calvinism was to be established in Germany "auf Flügeln des Gesanges", aided by two men whose minds did not balk at any eucharistic barriers.

As with Dachstein and Greiter, the emphasis is again on music, though not exclusively. With Melissus and Lobwasser, effects produced by the simultaneous impact of French language and music assume the highest importance. Musical, and proud of it, Paul Schede wrote motets and came to know Orlando Lassus and Goudimel. Lobwasser, an orthodox Lutheran, was a devout German jurist who dearly loved a good French tune sung in four parts. Schede became the first poet in a new age of German prosody, but what he began bears the mark of the psalm-melodies of Calvinism. Lobwasser was so taken by the Huguenot tunes he heard on his travels, that he decided to transplant them to Germany. In order to do this effectively, he had to supply them with singable German texts, and as a result they held a dominant position in the services of Reformed churches in Germany for the next two hundred years.

Melissus, constantly on the move,¹ visited Austria, France, Switzerland, Italy, England. In 1567 he was in Paris, where he formed associations with Reformation Frenchmen who aroused his interest in what was going on in Geneva. Here he became friendly with Théodore de Bèze, who

had completed the Marot Psalter at Calvin's request. Frederick of the Palatinate heard of his activities and, thinking to have discovered a German Marot capable of supplying the kind of hymn-book he wanted, invited Schede to Heidelberg. The result was the publication, in 1572, of a translation of the first fifty Marot-Beza psalms.

Lobwasser's Psalter, which appeared a year after that of Schede, had in fact been finished before it. The French version, with the melodies which remained in use afterwards, came out in 1562. By 1565 Lobwasser had arranged all the psalms, as against the fifty attempted by Melissus, but their publication was delayed until 1573. In the first instance, the translation was made solely for his own delight in it, and he spent the intervening years on its revision and improvement.

In an occasional love-song, Melissus could be genuinely poetic, but his psalm-translation, made under strictly limiting conditions, was rather clumsily imitative. 2. It is by no means beside the point to inquire about what he was translating. Clément Marot's psalms had started off as verses to be sung to ballad tunes for the pleasure of the French court. Marot was an intellectual who needed fresh ideas. These the Reformation was able to offer him; but he was also a man of the world, who felt completely smothered by the unbending austerity of his surroundings in Geneva. 3.

Luther survived Marot by two years. There was no gap between them in time, but an enormous gap between their worlds. Externally, the divergence of Paul Schede's way from Luther's is almost as great; except that they were drawn together by deeply personal religious conviction and a sense of the divine.4.

Lobwasser, after visiting Paris, stayed for some time with the Huguenots in the province of Berry. It was here that his enthusiasm was kindled for the undertaking which made of him 'the noted psalm-poet'. His translations achieved fame more by reason of the music to which they were sung than by any literary merit they possessed.5. Each psalm was accompanied by an introductory note on the content, and a four-part setting of the melody, the voices being printed separately. After 1573, new editions appeared in rapid succession, for the work soon became popular with Germany's Reformed congregations. As a Lutheran, Lobwasser offered it to the Lutherans without much success. His co-religionists promptly pointed out Calvinist heresies in it, adopting only such psalms as seemed to be free of the taint. Even in the Reformed churches, supplementary material gradually supplanted Lobwasser's text but, thanks to Louis Bourgeois and Claude Goudimel, the tunes went on their triumphant way.

One Lobwasser version of which the Lutherans did approve was his Ps. 42. He introduces it like this:

"As David is prevented by his enemies from joining in the solemn assembly of the people of God, he vehemently complains, declaring that he is present in heart though absent in body; signifying his low estate and great vexation of spirit, he reassures and consoles himself with the goodness of God. It is a psalm for true believers hindered from taking part in Christian fellowship."6. That is rather neat, and not far off the mark.

From the similarity of their thought and the occurrence of identical passages, Pss. 42 and 43 are now generally taken as one. The writer may have been one of a number of captives taken at the fall of Samaria in 721 B.C. 7. He was amongst strangers in an unfriendly land, sick, and longing for home: "Memories come back to me yet, melting the heart; how once I would join with the throng, leading the way to God's house, amid cries of joy and thanksgiving and all the noise of holiday, the clamour of the pilgrims." 8. And as if the sadness of remembering were not enough, jeering enemies were constantly taunting him: "Where is now thy God?" Suffering like that is an agony of mind through which only those to whom worship is a necessity are ever asked to go. It is like the mystic's terrible Night of the Senses, and only a man who had been through it would ever have used the psalmist's figure of the running stag that can find no water.

The treatment of this opening simile by Melis-

aus and by Lobwasser is a measure of their different capacities. One is a piece of vivid description which some would consider rather too noisy, and perhaps a little overdrawn; the other plods along, without any claim to distinction.⁹ On the other hand, Lobwasser's band of worshippers moves towards the house of God not only singing praises, but skipping and jumping for joy at the same time; much as King David is said to have done when he brought up the ark to Jerusalem, and Saul's daughter Michal was so disgusted with him.¹⁰ Paul Schede's crowd is more circumspect, less spontaneous.¹¹ By sheer force of variety, Melissus carries off the palm when his psalmist is communing with himself; yet there is somehow more depth of sympathetic feeling in Lobwasser's undisguised repetition.¹²

Whatever conclusions we may reach concerning the relative merits and demerits of the two men as craftsmen in German, it has to be remembered that something of considerable importance was happening. Religious poetry had pierced the defences of Lutheranism with a new language and a new music. It had aligned itself with endeavours being made in the secular sphere, and prophetic of a differently oriented future.¹³

Noten: 1. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 21, 294: Sein Leben verlief wie das eines echten fahrenden Humanisten in stetem Wechsel.

2. A D B, Vol. 21, 296: Zwei Liebeslieder - sangbar, zierlich, halb meistersingerisch, halb Ronsardisch galant... keine trockene Stubenpoesie.

- Die Prosa, nicht nur mit der Lutherischen verglichen, ist steiflein; die zwischen Marot's Leichtigkeit und biblischer Würde vermittelnde Poesie hart, manchmal recht drastisch, aber mehr an gesuchten Neologismen als an Sprachkraft reich.

3. Lanson, Histoire de la littérature française, 241: Mais précisément, parce que ses idées seules étaient converties, la Réforme ne voulut pas de lui. Il n'avait pas converti ses mœurs: il resta jusqu'au bout homme de cour, homme de plaisir, un épicurien de la Renaissance. Sa religion était une spéculation, comme pour d'autres le platonisme ou le peripatétisme. De là vient que pensant comme Genève, il ne put vivre à Genève. Sa croyance est dans sa tête, dans sa raison: de là la faiblesse de son inspiration religieuse. Si nous regardons seulement la valeur intrinsèque et non l'influence, il n'y a à tenir compte que de l'œuvre profane de Marot.

4. Stannler, 160: Seine religiöse Lyrik bildet, wenn auch nicht der Zeit, so doch dem Wesen nach, den Abschluss des Humanismus und den Übergang zum Barock... Seine Haltung gegenüber Gott ist von stark persönlichem Bewusstsein durchdrungen, er fühlt in sich das Göttliche wirken und Tat werden, und erst in deutschen Kirchenlied des Dreissigjährigen Krieges vernehmen wir wieder solche starken eigenen Töne.

5. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 19, 57: Die ganze Arbeit zeugt von dem frommen Sinn ihres Verfassers, aber freilich auch von seiner geringen dichterischen Begabung... die Sprache ist holprig und manchmal kaum verständlich, wie es auch, von allen Anderen abgesehen, bei der Art, wie sich Lobwasser an sein französisches Original gebunden hat, kaum anders sein kann.

6. Wackernagel, Kld. IV, 848 (Nro. 1242).

7. Oesterley, 241.

8. Knox, Ps. 41⁵ (Vulgate numbering):
'the clamour of the pilgrims' is added from Oesterley.
Luther's Bible, Ps. 42⁵: Wenn ich dann

dess inne werde, so schütte ich mein Herz heraus bei mir selbst; denn ich wollte gerne hin gehen mit dem Haufen, und mit ihnen wallen zum Hause Gottes, mit Frohlocken und Danken, unter dem Haufen, die da feiern.

9. Wackernagel, Kld, IV, 808 (Nro. 1196):

Melissus:

Wi's gehirne bremst unt rechzet
girik frischer wasserflus,
Also gelft, für düst zerlechet,
mein sel zu dir, Herre süs.

For Ps. 42, Melissus was working from Beza's Ainsi qu'on oit le cerf bruire; for Ps. 43 (No. 1197), from Marot's Revenge may.

Grimm's Wörterbuch, quoting Melissus, gives the following meanings: bremsen = Lat. frenere, rugire; rechzen = mit schnarchendem tone schnaufen; gelfen = schreien, eigentlich von gewissen gellenden tönen.

Lobwasser:

Wie nach einem wasser quelle
ein Hirsch schreiet mit begir,
Also auch mein arme seele
rufft und schreit, Herr Gott, zu dir.

10. II. Samuel, 6¹⁶: And as the ark of the Lord came into the city of David, Michal Saul's daughter looked through a window, and saw king David leaping and dancing before the Lord; and she despised him in her heart... (20) How glorious was the king of Israel to day, who uncovered himself to day in the eyes of the handmaids of his servants, as one of the vain fellows shamelessly uncovereth himself!

11. Str. 2.:

Lobwasser:

und denck, wie ich in Gotts hauss
geh mit leuten die lob singen,
hüpfen und mit freuden springen.

Melissus:

Zerflüß, denkend, w' in der rei
ich mit geang unt lob zöch frei
zum haus Gottes sitsam gingē
samt der schar di's fest begingē.

12. Str. 3. Str. 7: Nro. 1197. Str. 5:

Melissus:

Mein' sel, was ligst traurig nider,
warum fichtest in mir doch?
- Mein' sel, was leist für laid nider?
warum zaplest in mir doch?

- Mein^o sel, was tust dich nider schlagen?
warum in mir unrüig bist?

Lobwasser:

Mein seel, was thustu dich krencken,
was machstu dir selber qual?

13. Stammeler, 437: Mit dieser seelischen und formalen Neuorientierung war aber der Rationalismus des Luthertums an einer Stelle von der geistlichen Dichtung durchbrochen worden. Damit gewann diese den Anschluss an Strömungen, die in der weltlichen Literatur ebenfalls an die Oberfläche kamen und eine andersgeartete Zukunft ankündeten.

BARTHOLOMÄUS RINGWALDT

1530 (?) - 1599 or 1600

Wackernagel confronts the student with more than two hundred pieces by Ringwaldt, "about 165 of which may be called hymns."

1. What is at first bewildering soon becomes absorbing, for the old village pastor is a personality. "I must have my little joke now and then", he says, "Ich muss bisweilen scherzen". And most of what we know about him comes from his writings. Even the date of his birth has been variously calculated from them.

It is quite a relief to meet a sixteenth-century man who stays in one place and is not constantly bickering over something or other with someone of a different persuasion. Not afraid to speak out plainly, or to take the consequences of his blunt speech if necessary,

Ringwaldt looked with disfavour on theological squabbles as such, concerning himself more with the practical day-to-day affairs of his immediate surroundings.² He never studied in Wittenberg, as most Lutheran theologians felt compelled to do. Ordained in 1557, he spent the whole of his life from 1566 onwards in the village of Langenfeld, in Brandenburg. His literary activity began late; the first publication appeared in 1577, when he was already in his late forties. It was 'The 91st. Psalm, together with seven other beautiful songs and some little prayers'.³ No new note was sounded, no outstanding talent was discernible, but the work met with growing popular approval, and Ringwaldt felt encouraged to go on.

Ps. 91 was much in the minds of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers. Against at least forty separate versifications of Ps. 23, probably the best-loved in the whole Psalter, Wackernagel and Fischer-Tümpel give more than a score for Ps. 91. That Ringwaldt should choose it for his first excursion into print was no fortuitous happening. Together with Ps. 23 and Ps. 103, it breathes the clear air of a fear-free personal trust. It is a superb illustration "of the divine control of individual life, ... one of the most striking expressions of faith in particular providence within the general scheme of Yahweh's control of all actions and history ... No matter what the peril is,

trust in Yahweh will remove anxiety."4. In the days of the psalmist, the perils were many and terrifying, 5. and similar dangers threatened the lives of sixteenth-century Germans. The devils who had caused Luther so much trouble were still abroad, and Ringwaldt was well aware of it. But if there were ill-wishing powers, there were also ministering angels to strengthen man's weak purpose.

One thing immediately strikes the reader of Ringwaldt's psalm: he is so certain of what he is saying that he can afford to use a slightly bantering tone, a gentle raillery. He is having his little joke at the expense of the demons. His opening follows the text, but then he indulges in an aside of his own.6. Any man placing himself under the protection of the Almighty will be saved from the dread Huntsman's dogs, ready at any moment to wound him in body and soul; his stupidly timorous heart need never quail at any terrors of the night, and he can put his every predicament before the Lord "ganz fröhlich."

Commentators are of the opinion that the psalmist was thinking of Lilith, Adam's first wife, who has a place in later German literature.7. The legend is naive, and may have been known to Ringwaldt.8. Anthropomorphic devils of darkness and supernatural messengers of light were as real in the sixteenth-century Weltanschauung as in that of the psalmist. Ach, Herr, sings Martin Schalling (and

Back gives him the assistance of trumpets and timpani),

Lass dein lieb Engelein
An meinen End die Seele mein
In Abrahams Schoss tragen.

If you will only take my word for it, says Ringwaldt, nothing evil can possibly harm you or your household, for God's angels will guide you safely and bear you up. 9. Angels and devils move in and out amongst his men and women, eager to support and sustain, or to hunt down and destroy. Death itself is a hellish hound on the trail, with human beings as its quarry.10.

Mediaeval allegory, which so often misrepresented the phenomenal world, and from which Luther never quite broke free,11. is for Ringwaldt so much nonsense. He affects no gloomy avoidance of the things round about him; he can find pleasure in being alive, and then the secular Volkalied is much closer to his heart than any amount of theological erudition. His 'Song of Summer', to be sung to the tune of Herzlich tut mich erfreuen, die liebe Sommerzeit, has some delightfully enthusiastic passages; the sun is the sun, without any allegorical complications, and the earth is made pregnant by his power. The influence of Ps.19 is unmistakable.12. And there are reminders of Ps.104, where "Man is indeed central in the picture, though at first sight he seems to take so small a place". For he is "the one earthly creature in whom praise can be articulate."13.

And praise, as G.K. Chesterton puts it so well, "should be the permanent pulsation of the soul. Pessimism is at best an emotional half-holiday; joy is the uproarious labour by which all things live."¹⁴.

This is an aspect of faith too often glossed over because of its difficulty. Every man has to take up his personal position in relation to the world. He has to decide whether existence has a meaning or not, whether there is in fact an ordering of the world for good, or not. Judaism's unique contribution to religious thought is its affirmation of the world, its ethical optimism. Yet everywhere Israel's religious life went hand in hand with misery. Such optimism is not the complacent indifference to suffering of those who assert that the world is good because it treats them well.¹⁵ Without this hopefulness concerning a future, praise is an impossibility; and without praise, worship is meaningless.

All this Ringwaldt clearly understood. Although the scene in Germany was so often one of violence and sorrows, his optimism sometimes reached the point of turning jester in what seems thoroughly bad taste; in his working-over of an earlier German version of the Dies irae, for example.¹⁶ But did he really offend to a greater degree than the original version? This, like Ringwaldt's, was

sung to a secular melody associated with Luther's hymn,
Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein, which goes on:

Und lasst uns fröhlich springen,
Dass wir getrost und all in ein
Mit Lust und Liebe singen. 17.

What has become of the Day of Wrath, when it skips along like that? And was Ringwaldt any more guilty of disrespect for the awful Judge?

The fact is that his impertinence, if such it needs to be called, had its justification in the peremptory demands made by some of the psalmists: "One thing have I desired of the Lord, which I will require"... "Thou shalt arise, and have mercy upon Sion: for it is time that thou have mercy upon her." But to examine the context in which the psalmists made these demands is important. The first of them, being away from Jerusalem, wanted nothing but to return, so that he might see again 'the fair beauty of the Lord'; the other, seeing the city in ruins, imagined it as rebuilt by Yahweh himself, to Yahweh's greater glory.

In justice to Ringwaldt, we should look at the context in the same way. His world was a world of people, to be minutely observed, shrewdly portrayed, and shown to themselves for what they were. The impression of a broad and generous humanity in him grows stronger and stronger, the further we read. He was the kind of man who, while con-

denning a sin, could not help liking a sinner; being one himself, he was always on the side of erring mankind.¹⁸. He was a German patriot, with his feet on the German soil he loved. He spent a lifetime encouraging his people to keep the faith whatever the cost, and exhorting them to be happy about it, if they could. From all sorts and conditions of men he demanded for his God and theirs the sacrifice of praise. To let him explain in his own way how he read the conclusion of Ps.90 is to know exactly the kind of German he was.¹⁹.

Notes:

1. Julian 961.
2. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol.28.
644: Obwohl ein entschiedener Lutheraner, ist er dem theologischen Gezänke abhold und dringt auf das praktische Christenthum, auf die nächstliegenden Aufgaben der Zeit.
3. Wackernagel, Kld. IV, 906 - 907, gives eight sources from which his wide selection is drawn. He begins (Nro.1339) with Der 91. Psalm.
4. Wheeler Robinson, 65 - 66. See also 267.
5. Oesterley, 407: This psalm is a polemic, in devotional form, against the means employed to counteract the assaults of demons... Not in formulas or by magic arts and enchantments, nor yet by the help of wizards and witches, was the malevolent activity of demons to be met, but only by placing oneself under the protection of Yahweh. This is the purpose and content of the psalm. In Rabbinical literature the psalm is called "A song for evil encounters."

6. Wer unterm schirm des Höchsten sitzt
und bleibt in seinem schatten,
Vor engsten er gar selten schwitzt,
er ist sehr wol berathen.

7. Goethe, Faust I, Walpurgisnacht:

(4118)

Mephistopheles.

Betrachte sie genau!

Lilith ist das.

Faust.

Wer?

Mephistopheles.

Adams erste Frau.

Nimm dich in acht vor ihren schönen Haaren.

8. J.E. Hanauer, Folk-Lore of the Holy Land, London, Sheldon Press (1935), 9-10: At the first, Adam was male and female in one body, man on one side, woman on the other. In due time the female part separated from the male, and became a perfect woman, Adam remaining a perfect man; and the couple mated. But they were not happy, as the female refused to submit to the male, saying they were made of the same dust, and he had no right to order her about. So she was turned out of Paradise, and consorting with Iblis, became the mother of devils... She is the deadly enemy of all women.

Oesterley and Robinson, 118: Lilith was a night-hag... There is an evident reference to this demon, though her name is not mentioned, in Ps. xci, 5... Lilith herself is conceived of as a beautiful woman, with long flowing hair; it is at nights that she seeks her prey. She is dangerous to men because of her beauty.

Footnote 1. suggests an association between this legend and Frau Holde, one form of Tannhäuser, Peer Gynt and the Lorelei.

9. Str.6 Kein ubels wird begegnen dir,
kein plag dein Haus wird rühren,
Dann Gottes Engel, gleub du mir,
werden dich sicher führen,

Dich tragen und geleiten fein
teglich auff allen wegen dein,
das sich dein fuss nicht stosse.

10. Str.8 Der HErr ist bey vns in der noth
vnd wird vns rausser reissen
Darvns so mus vns nicht der Todt
verschlingen noch zubeissen.

11. Woolf, 295: The heavens are meant to represent the apostles in Ps. 19, and the sun is metaphorically Christ, and the seas the people; but this does not mean that they are sacraments.

12. Oesterley, 168:

For the sun is set
a tabernacle in the sea;
and he, like a bridegroom,
cometh forth from his chamber;
he rejoiceth like a champion
to run his course;

From the end of the heavens is his going forth, and his
circuit unto their end,
and nought is hid from his heat.

13. Wheeler Robinson, 8 - 9, and footnote.
The best picture of Nature as a going concern is to be gained from Psalm civ, even though this is partly borrowed from the Egyptian 'Hymn to the Sun'.

Oesterley, 445: It is impossible to read this glorious psalm without feeling the triumphant joy that pulsates throughout, ... the solemn happiness of the Creator.

14. Orthodoxy, London, John Lane (1941), 294.

15. Baeck, 85: In aller Religion handelt es sich nicht um Beobachtung und Erforschung der Welt, - denn das ist die Sache der einzelnen Wissenschaften - sondern um eine Beurteilung, um die persönliche Stellung, die wir zur Welt einnehmen... So geht jede Religion auf das Grundproblem von Optimismus und Pessimismus zurück, auf die Grundfrage, ob das Dasein einen Sinn hat, ob es eine Weltordnung gibt, die zum Guten ist, oder nicht.

87: Die Eigenart des Judentums... gründet sich darauf, dass es die Religion dieser sittlichen Bejahung der Welt, die Religion des sittlichen Optimismus ist. Dieser Optimismus ist alles eher als die selbstzufriedene Gleichgültigkeit dessen, der erklärt, dass die Welt gut sei, deshalb, weil es ihm selber in ihr gut ergeht... Auf diesem oberflächlichen Wege kann kein religiöser Mensch Optimist sein. Nichts liegt denn auch der israelitischen Religion mehr fern. Sie weiss vom Leben zu viel, als dass sie seine Not und seine Qual nicht Not und Qual nennen sollte.

16. Wackernagel, Kld. IV, 344: Nro. 490 is the earlier version, "gebessert" by Ringwaldt, Nro. 491.

Str. 7.

O Jesu Christ, du machst es lang
mit deinem Jüngsten tage?
Den Menschen wird auff Erden bang
von wegen vieler plage.

17. Terry, II, No. 268, is Luther's hymn.
Melody, anonymous (1524), to Ach Gott vom Himmel, sieh
darein.

No. 270 is Ringwaldt's Dies
irag. Melody (1535), of secular origin.

No. 269 is the same secular
melody, set to a Christmas hymn by Paul Gerhardt, Ich steh
an deiner Krippen hier.

18. Wackernagel, Kld. IV, 962 (Nro. 1432):

Ps. 51.

Gerechter Gott, ich kom zu dir
auff hand und fuss gekrochen!

2. Denn war ists, das ich dein Gebot
manchfeltig überschritten,
Vnd wider dich
mutwilliglich
gar oft ohn all bedencken
Gehandelt schwer.

- 978 (Nro. 1464):

Ps. 6.

Ach HErr, du frommer Vater gut,
der du viel gutes schaffest
Vnd gar mit einer scharffen Ruth
dein liebe kinder straffest,
Ey, schlag doch nicht so hefftig zu!

19. Wackernagel, Kld. IV, 984 (Nro. 1471):

Str. 8

Kehr dich zu vns, du frommer Gott,
in diesen bösen tagen,
Vnd thu dein volck fürs Teuffels spot
in deinem busen tragen,
Schaff allen Christen hilf vnd rath,
weil sie jr hoffnung früh vnd spat
auff dich alleine setzen.

9.

Gib glück zu allem Regiment
in unserm gantzen Lande,
Vnd segn aller menschen hend
in klein vnd grossen stande,
So wollen wir mit lauten schall
dich frölich preisen vber all
weil wir auff Erden leben.
Amen.

PHILIPP NICOLAI

1556 - 1608

Apart from the musical adventure offered by Lobwasser's Psalter, there was a rather curious reason for its immense success. What gave authority to its undistinguished verse was a belief that the Hebrew Psalter constituted the one and only inspired song-book of congregational praise. The Word of God must hold the position of supreme importance in public worship, and "no production of man should be allowed to take its place. This principle raised the Psalter to new dignity and power."¹ So extraordinary a statement can only pass without comment. Suffice it to say that, for some time, non-Lutheran Protestants felt that there was no sanction for the writing of original hymns.

The Lutherans were not inhibited by any such consideration. But just as Calvin scented danger in any form of musical licence, so Luther saw trouble ahead, if hymn-writers were allowed too free a hand. This became an increasing worry to him, as his prefaces show. In the 1524 edition of the Wittenberg Gesangbüchlein, he was full of high hopes. ² But for the 1529 edition, he felt that a new preface was necessary. Without any authority from him, texts were being tampered with, and doubtful hymns were jostling those of which he approved. He was concerned, lest such unfamiliar and unsuitable material should be falsely

attributed to Wittenberg. 3. By 1543, the title page carried a solemn warning. 4.

This warning stands at the head of the Valentin Bapst book of 1545, the last with which Luther had any direct association. With malicious glee, he played on the name, 5. then pointed out that a certain burial hymn given as his was, in fact, not by him ("not that I repudiate it, for I like it very well"), and that there was a rather serious mistake in his De profundis. The plan of the book as issued was this: a first part containing eighty Stannlieder and some Latin hymns; appended as a second part, 'Psalm and Spiritual Songs' to the number of forty. By 1551, this figure had risen to seventy, and only occasionally were individual hymns from it promoted to the 'canon'. 6.

There was an atmosphere of doubt and uneasiness. Who was remaining faithful to the 'canonical' spirit of Lutheranism, and who was departing from it? Under the year 1551, Wackernagel lists a mournful refutation by the people of Magdeburg of charges made against them in this connection. 7. Certain it is that, not long after Luther's death, there appeared service-books which would not have had the stamp of his approval; and as these appeared, they grew more and more dissimilar. 8. The tendency was for Lutherans to express themselves more freely, while the Reformed churches clung to

the Psalter, secure in the knowledge that God himself had dictated it.

Yet there was never a time when 'pure' Lutheranism did not have its defenders, of whom Philipp Nicolai was one of the most pungently argumentative. Wackernagel prints four poems by Nicolai, apparently all that were ever published; of these, only two have any very clear connection with the Psalter, but what classics they are. The amazing thing about Nicolai is that, while engaged in the most acrimonious battles as a Lutheran controversialist, he was able to fashion something in the spirit of a new age, the age of Paul Gerhardt and of the composer. And he did this both as poet and as musician. "Happy are the chorales", writes Albert Schweitzer, "of whose origin nothing is known! This was the good fortune of the melodies to Nicolai's Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern and Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme." 9. It is generally assumed that they are by Nicolai himself. 10.

Ein Klagelied der christlichen Kirchen was an attack on 'the Calvinists and factious spirits'. 11. Having come out strongly as an orthodox Lutheran in the most violent phase of the dispute over the Sacrament, Nicolai was to have received a doctorate of theology in recognition of his stand, but the Landgrave William of Hesse, influenced by Nicolai's Calvinist opponents, refused the faculty in Marburg permission to confer it. Not until Hunnius, who had

made the suggestion, was moved to Wittenberg, did Nicolai become doctor in 1594. The verses of the Klagelied, like their author, were entangled in the bitterness of the times.

Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme, came at the end of a long line of Wächterlieder. But it is a Watchman's song with a difference: with its perfect rhythms and its pre-occupation with the readiness of the soul to meet the Heavenly Bridegroom, it beckons to Johann Franck and Johann Scheffler coming after. Whereas in the songs of the Middle Ages, from which Nicolai may have borrowed, "the voice of the Watchman from his turret summons the workers of darkness to flee from discovery, with Nicolai it is a summons to the children of light to awaken to their promised reward." 12. In the terrible months of plague, from July 1597 to January 1598, the dead were brought in their hundreds to the churchyard for burial. One wonders how many of them had been young and innocent girls for whom life had scarcely begun to flower, like the virgins of the parable which Nicolai acknowledges as his source. 13.

Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern is called in the superscription 'a spiritual bridal-song of believing souls'. Both Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme, and Der Welt Abdank are headed Ein anders. Nicolai's three Brautlieder are instinct with the mystical meaning given by the Church to 'the Song of Songs, which is Solomon's', a book which has

caused commentators a certain amount of embarrassment.¹⁴. It was this association of Nicolai's hymns with the Hohelied that drew Bach so irresistibly to them in two cantatas and a fine chorale-prelude. But Nicolai tells us that he used Ps. 45 for Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern. "That this psalm, if it may be so called, found a place in the Psalter, is to be explained on grounds somewhat similar to those which ultimately permitted the admission of the Song of Songs into the Canon."¹⁵. Then, in later times, it too was given a Messianic interpretation.¹⁶.

Nicolai writes: "Du Sohn Davids aus Jakobs Stamm, mein König und mein Bräutigam". The hymn immediately became a favourite in Germany. It was not only considered 'indispensable' at weddings, but was also sung round death-beds. There could be no more penetrating analysis of a mystical transformation than that. Circumstances surrounding its composition do much to explain how the Song of Songs and Ps. 45 were literally transfigured before the eyes and the minds of Christian men. It is said that he wrote it one morning after he had been weighed down by thoughts of the anguish and death round about him. Suddenly he was lifted into a state of rapture, and became wholly absorbed in the joys of heaven. But, in the artistic struggle to convey what he saw and felt, Nicolai borrowed the frankly amatory language of his source. Every now and then, parts of the hymn have been

Tutti
Vivace (♩.)
2 Cornetti o Oboi

2 Tromboni

S O L I

S. I
II
T. I
II
B.

Wie schön leuch- tet der Mor- gen- stern voll Gnad' und Wahr-
How bright and fair the mor- ning- star, the shin- ing

[Omnes] *OSSIA: the shin- ing me*

C O R O

S.
A.
T.
B.

Wie schön leuch- tet der Mor- gen- stern voll Gnad' und Wahr-
How bright and fair the mor- ning- star, the shin- ing

Vivace (♩.)

VI. I
VI. II
Vla.
Organo
B. C.

meno f

S. I.
II.

T. I.
II.

B.

heit von dem Herrn, die sü - Bo Wur - zel Jes -
mes - sen ger to hail the seed of Jes -

heit von dem Herrn, die sü - Bo Wur - zel Jes -
mes - sen ger to hail the seed of Jes -

heit von dem Herrn, die sü - Bo Wur - zel Jes -
mes - sen ger to hail the seed of Jes -

sen - ger a - far *meno f*

S. A.

T.

B.

heit von dem Herrn, die sü - Bo Wur - zel Jes -
mes - sen ger to hail the seed of Jes -

heit von dem Herrn, die sü - Bo Wur - zel Jo -
mes - sen ger to hail the seed of of Jes -

heit von dem Herrn, die sü - Bo Wur - zel Jes -
mes - sen ger to hail the seed of Jes -

Vl. I

Vl. II

Vla.

Org.

B. C.

recast by well-meaning editors made to feel uncomfortable by the original, so as to meet 'the requirements of our times'.¹⁷.

In Der Welt Abdank, 'for a heaven-thirsty soul', Nicolai made use of Ps. 42. The superficial resemblance is plain enough: the tormented stag is in it, and the mocking cry of the faithless. But the house of God has become the kingdom of heaven, and earth is the Jammertal he longs to leave, paradise the Freudensaal waiting to receive him. This is the 'emblematic' of the Baroque, far removed from the dreary substitutions of mediaeval allegory. Both elements of the psalm are present, the desire for direct communion with God, and the self-questioning.¹⁸ But then Nicolai introduces a very lovely meditation of his own, and out of it we suddenly find that 'I' has become 'we'.¹⁹.

Notes:

1. Julian, 415.

2. Wackernagel, Bibliographie, 543, Vorrede 8: Vnd sind dazu auch ynn vier stynne bracht, nicht aus anderer vrsach, deñ das ich gerne wollte, die iugent, die doch sonst soll vnd mus ynn der Musica vnd andern rechten künsten erzogen werden, etwas hette, da mit sie der bul lieder vnd fleyschlichen gesenge los werde, vnd an der selben stat, etwas heylsames lernete... Auch das ich nicht der meynung byn, das durchs Euangelion, sollten alle künste zu boden geschlagen werden vnd vergehen, wie ettliche abergeystlichen fur geben. Sondern ich wollt alle künste, son-

darlich die Musica gerne sehen yn dienst, des der sie geben
vnd geschaffen hat.

3. Wackernagel, Bibl., 547, Vorrede 14:
Vber das, das auch die ersten vnser Lieder jhe lenger jhe
falscher gedruckt werden, Hab ich Sorge, es werde diesen
Büchlin die leng gehen, wie es alle zeit guten Büchern
gangen ist, das sie durch vngeschickeder köpffe zusetzen,
so gar vberschüttet vnd verwüstet sind, das man das gute
drunter verloren, / vnd alleine das vnnutze im brauch be-
halten hat. Wie wir sehen aus Sanct Luca an. j. Capitel,
Das jm anfang jeder man hat wollen Euangelia schreiben, bis
man schier das rechte Euangelion verloren hette vater so
viel Euangelien.

4. Wackernagel, Bibl., 187 (CDLXII):

Geistliche Lieder zu Wittenberg,
Anno 1543. Warnung D. Mart. Luther.

Viel falscher Meister itzt Lieder tichten/
Sihe dich fur, vnd lern sie recht richten/
Wo Gott hin bawet sein Kirch vnd sein wort/
Da wil der Teufel sein mit trug vnd mord.

5. Wackernagel, Bibl., 583, Vorrede 48:

Darumb thun die drucker sehr wol dran, das sie gute lieder
vleissig drucken, vnd mit allerley zierde, den leuten ange-
neme machen, damit sie zu / solcher freude des glaubens
gerichtet werden, vnd gerne singen. Wie denn dieser druck
Valtia Babats, sehr lustig sgerichtet ist, Gott gebe, das
damit dem Römischē Papst, der nichts denn heulen, trawren
vnd leid in aller welt hat angericht, durch seine verdampfte,
vntregliche vnd leidige gesetzze, grosser abbruch vnd schaden
geschehe, Amen.

6. Blume, 30: - als zweiter Teil ein Anhang,
... der zunächst 40, in der Auflage von 1551 schon 70 nicht
"kanonische" Gesänge enthält ... nur selten rückten aus
ihnen einzelne Gesänge in den "Kanon" der Stammlieder auf.

7. Wackernagel, Bibl., 248 (DCCXXII):

Klaglied: Deren von Magdeburgk, zu Gott vnd allen frommen
Christen. Im thon des Zwelfften Psalms ... (Introduction):

Man thut böss Lieder tichten,
Als hetten wirs gethan.
Got weys wirs nit anrichten,
Doch meynt es jederman.

8. Blume, 30: Bald nach Luthers Tod erschie-

nen dann auch nicht nur neue Typen von Gesangbüchern wie die geschlossenen Psalter - und Evangelienbereimungen, sondern auch manche traditioneller angelegte Liederbücher, die sicherlich nicht seinen Beifall gefunden hätten. Einen Wandel in der Entwicklung zeigt schliesslich auch das Erscheinen der ersten umfassenden Sammlungen aller deutschen und lateinischen Gesangstücke der Kirche an. Es ist bezeichnend für die sich überschneidenden Tendenzen einer Institutionalisierung und Formalisierung aller Gesangsteile des protestantischen Gottesdienstes und eines beginnenden Zerfalls der Liturgie, dass die neuen Liederbücher einander bald weniger ähneln als je die Sammlungen zuvor.

9. Schweitzer, I, 21.

10. Terry, II, Nos. 390-394, Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern. Hymn, by Philipp Nicolai, in seven 12-line stanzas (1599). Melody, by (?) Nicolai (1599).

Julian, 806: The popularity of the hymn was greatly aided by its beautiful chorale... which has been called 'the Queen of Chorales'... It was published with the hymn, and is probably an original tune by Nicolai, though portions may have been suggested by earlier melodies, especially by the Regenet in laudibus, which is probably of the 14th century.

Terry, II, No. 342, Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme. Hymn, by Philipp Nicolai, in three 12-line stanzas (1599). Melody, by Nicolai (1599).

Julian, 806: The melody appeared first along with the hymn, and is also apparently by Nicolai... It has been called 'the King of Chorales'.

11. Wackernagel, Kld. V, 256 (Nro. 393).

12. Julian, 806.

13. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 23, 609: Während der Pest, in der er furchtlos seiner Gemeinde beistand, war seine Erquickung anhaltendes Nachdenken über das ewige Leben und den Zustand der Seelen nach dem Tode.

Gospel according to St. Matthew, XXV: But at midnight there is a cry, Behold, the bridegroom! Come ye forth to meet him. Then all those virgins arose, and trimmed their lamps; ... and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage feast: and the door was shut.

14. Oesterley and Robinson, 217 and 219: The Song of Solomon ... was one of the last books to find

a secure position in the Jewish Canon. Its secular nature made it difficult for Jewish scholars to accept it; but the tradition which ascribed it to Solomon and its undoubted beauty made men anxious to include it, if possible, and the problem was ultimately solved by treating it metaphorically, as a picture of the love existing between Yahweh and the ideal Israel... We can say with confidence only that we have here a collection of erotic lyrics... They may have been used in the wedding ceremonies of Palestine, and they may owe their preservation to this fact.

15, 16. Oesterley, 250: The poem offers an illuminating picture of a royal wedding in ancient Palestine. A religious note is sounded, it is true, when the singer assures the royal bridegroom of God's continued blessing on him, and designates him as God's chosen one. This would be confidently assumed, since the king was, in a real sense, looked upon as God's representative among the people; so much so that the king is actually addressed by the divine title. This it doubtless was which in later days, when the early conception of kingship was a thing of the past, prompted the Messianic interpretation.

17. See Julian, 806.

18. Oesterley, 244: - nowhere presented with quite the same open-hearted candour and straightforwardness as here. We mean the act of religious self-communing... The psalmist addresses his soul as though it were distinct from himself, and yet, almost in the same breath, identifies himself with it.

19. Waackernagel, Kld, V, 259-260 (Nro.396):

Str.8.

Das Kräutlein patientia
wächst nicht in allen Garten:

Ach Gott, schaff du mirs immerdar,
dass ich kün deiner warten.

Sonst bin ich sehr
betrübt und schwer
von Angst auff dieser Erden.

Str.12.

Gedult, Gedult, du trauwrig Seel!
gedult ist hie von Nothen,
Biss uns der lieb Immanuel
von diesen argen Kröten

Wol zu sich reiss
ins Paradeiss,
da werden wir ihm danken.

CORNELIUS BECKER

1561 - 1604

There are those who would consider any comparison with Nicolai's bride-song theme inept, but it is nevertheless true to say that Voice and Verse are for ever on their way to the church for a kind of mystical wedding. John Milton, writing not long after Nicolai, was quite clear in his mind about this. Blest Pair of Sirens immortalized a solemn music; two and a half centuries later, C.H.H. Parry set lasting music to Blest Pair of Sirens.¹ The process is endless. And because a psalm is a sacred song, in any study of uses made of the Psalter this interdependence of music and the written word is inescapable, though each as a medium of expression may possess its own sturdy independence.

A sense of nationhood is an important factor in the characteristic development of such a composite form. This was the case with the Hebrew Psalter. In a less sharply defined way, it was the case with German psalmody. Although the Lutherans adopted many of the melodies from Lobwasser's Psalter, and a few of the versions, in general they condemned it as being Calvinistic, as "obscuring the Evangelical spirit of the Psalms."² The appearance of hymn-writers like Ringwaldt and Nicolai was one sign of a true national feeling amongst Lutherans. The appearance of Becker's Psalter at Leipzig in 1602 was another.

mo - nious sis - ters, Voice and Verse, Wed your di

mo - nious sis - ters, Voice and Verse, Wed your di - vine sounds, and

mo - nious sis - ters, Voice and Verse, Wed your di - vine sounds, and

mo - nious sis - ters, Voice and Verse, Wed your di

mo - nious sis - ters, Voice and Verse, Wed your di - vine sounds, and

mo - nious sis - ters, Voice and Verse, Wed your di

mo - nious sis - ters, Voice and Verse, Wed your di

mo - nious sis - ters, Voice and Verse, Wed your di - vine sounds,

vine sounds, and mixt power em - ploy, Dead things with inbreathed sense

mixt power em - ploy, Dead things with inbreathed sense

mixt power em - ploy, Dead things with inbreathed sense

vine sounds, and mixt power em - ploy, Dead things with inbreathed sense

mixt power em - ploy, Dead things with inbreathed sense

vine sounds, and mixt power em - ploy, Dead things with inbreathed sense

vine sounds, and mixt power em - ploy, Dead things with inbreathed sense

and mixt power em - ploy, Dead things with inbreathed

B

Animando

a - ble to pierce.

a - ble to pierce.

a - ble to pierce.

a - ble to pierce.

a - ble to pierce.

a - ble to pierce.

a - ble to pierce.

sense a - ble to pierce.

Animando

B

f *dim.* *p*

Animando

And to our

And to our

And to our high-raised phan-ta-sy pre-sent That un-dis-

high raised phan-ta-sy pre-sent That un-dis-turb-ed song

poco cres.

Shortly before the Psalter was published, Cornelius Becker had been temporarily suspended for his too-virulent attacks from the pulpit on Crypto-Calvinism. The work as issued had two prefaces, one by Becker himself, the other by Polycarp Leiser, court preacher to the Elector of Saxony. The express intention was that it should take the place of Lobwasser's Psalter,³ the music of which was regarded as un-German. There was an implicit accusation made against Lutherans in general of showing a false allegiance, by reason of their interest in the French music. The argument of the prefaces runs more or less as follows: There is no good reason for the meddling of Germans in such newfangled and alien matters. It is most distressing that Germans should make Luther creep away into a corner with his more excellent songs, and become ardent admirers of exotics introduced from somewhere else. Attention is drawn to the mediocrity of Lobwasser's verses; far from being genuinely German, they are indifferently written in the affected French manner. Furthermore, when such foreign-sounding strains are heard in German churches, it is more than likely that a dangerous change in doctrine will soon follow. Although some of these psalms sound pretty enough when sung, neither in words nor in music do they reflect Luther's joyous and courageous spirit.⁴

In the hope of counteracting Lobwasser's influence, Becker arranged his psalms to be sung to the melodies

commonly used in Lutheran churches.5. As it is of some interest to know what orthodox congregations were singing while the Reformed churches were so exuberantly busy with Lobwasser, a detailed analysis is given in the notes. Wackernagel prints fifty of the Becker versions, expressing the belief that he has brought together all those to be found in collections made for congregational use. Hence a closer look at Becker's instructions regarding melodies for these fifty psalms provides reliable information.6.

The Leipzig doctor was academically thorough over his plan to restore the evangelical spirit of the Psalter to its rightful place in worship. To each version he gave a general title: Ps. 2 has Christi Königreich; Ps. 22, Christi Wehklage am Kreuz; Ps. 68, Herrlichkeit des neuen Testaments; Ps. 69, Christi schweres Leiden, and so on. Immediately below the heading he placed a short summary in verse, not of the content of the psalm, but of the teaching as he understood it. Ps. 34 is called David's Catechism, and Ps. 16 David's Golden Jewel. 7. Of the versions themselves, little need be said. "The muse but rarely bestowed her kiss on worthy Cornelius Becker."8. Only his Ps. 23, Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt, has taken a permanent place in German hymnody.9.

Yet, as a deliberate and carefully planned attempt to oust the Lobwasser Psalter, the Becker psalms were

not without significance. The attempt failed, because their presentation was so transparently didactic and so lacking in popular appeal. Friedrich Blume mentions a four-part treatment of the melodies by Seth Calvisius (1605), and what must have been a most ingenious Latin-musical arrangement of the psalms, Cithara Davidica Luthero-Becceriana. But had not the great Heinrich Schütz put his hand to the task, it is hardly likely that the Becker Psalter would have made any very deep or lasting impression. 10.

Notes: 1. Parry's music was dedicated to C.V. Stanford and the members of the Bach choir, who first performed it in 1887. In his commentary on it, D.F. Tovey (Essays in Musical Analysis, V) speaks of it as marking an epoch in British musical history, and then adds with commendable caution: We may not rashly put the composer on the same supreme plane as the poet; but it is not too much to say that the failure to appreciate Parry will generally be found to coincide with a failure to appreciate Wilton.

2. Julian, 1543.

3. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 2, 221: Um die Lobwasser'sche Uebertragung der französischen Psalmen des "sacramentirerischen Rädelsführers Beza" und Marot's, mit ihren "fremden französischen und für die weltlünsternen Ohren lieblich klingenden Melodien" zu verdrängen, übersetzte er die Psalmen.

4. Wackernagel, Bibliographie, 447, Note 4: Vorrede Corn. Beckers. Vnd wolte Gott das wir vns den, durch Lutherum angelegten, Kirchenbaw, fein richtig auszuführen, vnd auff gut Lutherisch zupredigen vnd zusingen mit ernst beflissen, es solte durch Gottes gnade mit vnsern Schulen vnd Kirchen keine noth haben.

Aber es wil sich leider fast darzu ansehen lassen, als wenn wir an den himlischen Manna, das vns Gott in diesen Landen, durch die Predigt seines lieben Wortes, regnen lassen, vorlangst einen Eckel geschöpfft hetten, denn vns Deutschen treibt der fürwitz, das wie in andern, also auch in Geistlichen sachen, wir jammerdar zu frembden vnd newen dingen mehr lust vnd begierde tragen, dadurch wir vns aber offft vnd viel selbst betriegen, vnd dasjenige für Heilighumb halten, das doch zu weilen mit falscher Lehre sehr vbel durchgiffet ist...

- von vielen bey vns so hoch vnd köstlich geachtet werden, als wenn nichts lieblicher vnd köstlicher vber die Psalmen ans liecht kommen were. Also das ... Lutherus mit seinen Gesengen für diesem werck sich wohl verkriechen müste.

- Denn der interpres (als ein Dolmetscher) hat es im Deutschen nicht besser machen können noch sollen, als er es im Frantzösischen gefunden. Wolte aber jemand daffür halten, das durch dieselbe verdeutschung der Psalter zu bessern verstande gebracht sein solte, als er sonst in D. Luthers verston an vnd für sich selbst zu befinden, dem gebe ich keinen beyfall...

- darinnen die Meister von hohen sinnen des Herrn Christi gar vergessen... darinnen sie David vorsetzen, vñ Christum im fürbilde kaum von ferne hernach führen...

Leisers Vorrede.

Note 5:

Es ist bey vns Deutschen ein elend ding, das vnd der fürwitz also reitet, quod sumus admiratores rerum exoticarum, & contentores propriarum, was frembd vnd seltsam ist, das halten wir hoch, vnd entgegen, was Gott vns bescheret, ob es schon besser vnd herrlicher ist, so wird es verachtet.

- so wird derselbe Psalter publice vnd priuatim so hoch gehalten, als wenn nichts bessers könte gefunden werden, vngeachtet das fürwar mit den reimen messig ding ist, welche meistens theils gezwungen, vnuerstendlich, vnd gar nicht nach der art Deutscher Reimen, sondern mehr nach der Frantzösischen manir gemacht sein...

- Vnd wenn es denn von alters her heisst: Mutata musica in templis, mutatur etiam genus doctrinae, das wenn man auff eine newe frembde art anfenget in den Kirchen zusingen, gemeinlich auch verenderung der Lehre erfolge...

- Denn ob schon etliche artig vnd lieblich im Gesang lauten, so ist doch weder in den worten noch in der weise des Herrn Lutheri. frewdiger vnd antiger Geist.

5. Wackernagel, Bibl., 446 (MLX):
Der Psalter Davids Gesangweis, Auff die in Lutherischen
Kirchen gewöhnliche Melodeyen zugerichtet... Leipzig,
M. DCij.

6. Hymns later used by Bach are shown first,
as given by Terry.

Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein.
Martin Luther, 1524. Melody, anonymous, 1524.
To Pss. 79 and 85.

Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr.
Nikolaus Decius, 1525. Melody, an adaptation (1539)
of the Easter plainsong Gloria in excelsis. To Pss. 23, 72
and 91.

Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir.
Martin Luther, 1524. Melody, by (?) Luther, 1524.
To Pss. 6, 42, 69, and part of 89.

Christ, der du bist der helle Tag.
Erasmus Alber, c. 1556. Melody, anonymous, 1568.
To Pss. 126 and 150.

Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stand.
Johann Böschenstein, c. 1515. Melody, anonymous, 1545, to
In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr, but probably of earlier
origin.
To Ps. 22.

Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt.
Lazarus Spengler, 1524. Melody (1535) sung at the
Battle of Pavia (1529) to the song. Was will wir aber heben
an.
To Pss. 25 and 107.

Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.
Martin Luther, 1529. Melody, by Luther, 1529.
To Pss. 68 and 76.

Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein.
Martin Luther, 1524. Melody, anonymous, 1525.
To Pss. 20, 80, and 97.

Helft mir Gottes Güte preisen.
Paul Eber, c. 1580. Melody, the secular Ich
ging einmal spazieren, 1569.
To Ps. 8.

Herr Christ, der einig Gottes Sohn.
Elisabethe Cruciger, 1524. Melody, anonymous, 1524.
To Pss. 84, 110 and 139.

Ich dank dir, lieber Herre.
Johann Kolross, c. 1535. Melody, anonymous, 1544,
of earlier secular origin.
To Pss. 138 and 149.

Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ.
Johannes Agricola, 1529. Melody, anonymous, 1529.
To Ps. 142.

- In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr.
Adam Reissner, 1533. Melody, by (?) Seth Calvius, 1581.
To Pss. 4, 31 and 70.
- Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn.
Georg Grönwald, 1530. Melody, anonymous, 1530.
To Ps. 49.
- Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein.
Martin Luther, 1524, Melody, anonymous, 1524,
to Ach Gott, vom Himmel.
To Pss. 16 and 33.
- Nun lob, mein Seel, den Herren.
Johann Graumann, 1540. Melody, by (?) Johann Kugelmann, 1540.
To Ps. 113.
- Singen wir aus Herzensgrund:
Anonymous, c. 1560. Melody, anonymous, 1544,
to Da Christus geboren war.
To Ps. 65.
- Von Gott will ich nicht lassen.
Ludwig Helmbold, 1563-4. Melody (1571) of secular origin, Ich ging einmal spazieren.
To Pss. 8, 34 and part of 89.
- Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit.
Martin Luther, 1524. Melody, by (?) Johann Walther, 1524.
To Pss. 56 and 82.
- Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz?
(?) Hans Sachs, 1565. Melody, anonymous, 1565.
To Ps. 48.
- Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit.
Albrecht, Markgraf of Brandenburg-Culmbach, c. 1554.
Melody, anonymous, 1529, to the secular Il me souffit de tous mes maux.
To Ps. 27.
- Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen sein.
Paul Eber, c. 1560. Melody, by Louis Bourgeois, (1547), to Lève le cœur, ouvre l'oreille.
To Ps. 121.
- Wer Gott vertraut.
Joachim Magdeburg, 1571. Melody, by Magdeburg, 1571.
To Ps. 117.
- Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält.
Justus Jonas, 1524. Melody, anonymous, 1535.
To Ps. 2.
- Ewiger Vater im Himmelreich.
Wackernagel, Kld. V, 152 (Bro.230): Valentin Hebeisen, Heldenlied von D. Martin Luther. In three parts; sixty-three 13-line stanzas!
To Ps. 90.

Hats Gott versehn.

Wackernagel, Kld. V, 322 (Nro. 540): Anonymous, in two musical collections of 1597.

To Pss. 133 and 146.

Hilf Gott, wie geht das immer zu.

Wackernagel, Kld. III, 101-103 (Nro. 139 - 142): Andreas Knöpfken, a version of Ps. 2, 1528.

To Ps. 62.

Mag ich Unglück nicht widerstahn.

Wackernagel, Kld. V, 256 (Nro. 393): This is Philipp Nicolai's Klagelied der christlichen Kirchen, 1595.

To Pss. 3 and 30.

Nun höret zu, ihr Christenleut.

Wackernagel, Kld. V, 76 (Nro. 110): Petrus Schroder, 1585.

In the form of a disputation between Christ and Calvin, on the doctrine of the Sacrament.

To Ps. 24.

Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht steht.

See Martin Luther (vi), Ps. 128.

To Ps. 1.

7. Wackernagel, Kld. V, 376 (Nro. 589):

Dauids Catechismus

Das Creutz, die liebe Rut,
thut Gottes Kindern viel zu gut,
Macht wolgeübte Leut,
die andre lehren mit bescheid.

Lass David sein einn Man
der Catechismus predign kan:
gib fleissig ghör,
folg seiner Lehr,
es wird dich rewen nimmermehr.

- 366 (Nro. 579):

Dauids güldenes Kleinod

Nie wirstu David prangen sehn
im gülden schmuck, wolsts recht verstehn:
Sein güldnes Kleinod geistlich ist,
geferbet durchs blut Jesu Christ.
Wem diss Kleinod am hertzen hangt,
für Gott er stadlich einher prangt:
Allein der Glaub an Jesum Christ
der für die Sünd gestorben ist
macht vns selig, das ist gewiss.

See Oesterley, 13 - 14: The term Miktan occurs also in the titles of Pss. 56-60. Its meaning is uncertain. In Rabbinical writings it is connected with the word Kethem, 'gold', and is explained as 'a golden piece',

beautiful and valuable. Another word with which it might be connected is Katham, something 'hidden'; in this case the term would mean that the psalm was of hidden import, not understood by all. It may well be, however that Nowinckel has hit upon the true meaning; he connects the term with the Assyrian Katam, 'to cover', i.e. to cover sin; so that Niktam would be employed in reference to a psalm which dealt with the subject of covering, or atoning for sin or uncleanness, or else sickness, the result of sin; it might even have been held that the saying or singing of the psalm was of atoning efficacy.

8. Moser, 452.

Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol.2,
221: Seine Uebersetzung ist schlicht aber auch wässrig.
Blume, 89: Die Texte waren dünnblütig.

9. Terry, I, No.17, Allein Gott in der Höh
sei Ehr: Hymn, by Cornelius Becker, in three 7-line stanzas
(1598). Melody, an adaptation (1539) of the Easter plain-
song Gloria in excelsis. (See Note 6).

10. Blume, 89: - so kommt doch in einer
Beziehung dem Werk erhöhte Bedeutung zu; es war ein bewusst
unternommener, wenn auch erfolgloser Versuch, den Lobwasser-
schen Psalter, der allmählich auch die lutherischen Gesang-
bücher durchsetzte, zu verdrängen. Eben deswegen dichtete
Becker seine Texte auf bekannte Kirchenmelodien. Dass sie
sich nicht durchsetzten, lag wohl an ihrer Bildungsbetont-
heit und mangelnden Volkstümlichkeit.

- Eine tiefere Spur würde trotz dieser
musikalischen Bemühungen der Beckersche Psalter vermutlich
nicht hinterlassen haben, hätte nicht Heinrich Schütz ihn
einer ganz selbständigen Komposition... gewürdigt und ihn
mit vorwiegend eigenen... Melodien versehen.

4. ROMAN CATHOLIC RESPONSE

CASPAR ULENBERG

1549 - 1617

IT WAS A sparkling facet of Luther's religious genius that he recognized the German desire to sing in German, and did everything in his power to allow it wider scope. Bäumker quotes an amusing description of the dreadful noises made by early converts, when trying to master Gregorian chant. The first Leisen represented an attempt on the part of the people to satisfy an irresistible urge by shouting something they could understand, in the absence of devotional songs in their own tongue.¹ And the Church had acted very wisely. Well before the Reformation, singing by the people was established in many churches of Germany with the tacit consent of the ecclesiastical authorities, even while they were openly asserting that Gregorian plain-song must remain the only form of liturgical music.

There came a period when Lutherans and Catholics were singing each other down, so carried away were they all by the spirit of the thing. In 1537 Vehe produced the first German Catholic hymnal; at the same time, Wigel was making tireless efforts to explain to the people in German what the Latin prayers and hymns were all about. Catholics adopted a number of the old songs as expanded and "gebessert" by Luther, either complete or with some modification. It was

the same with certain of his psalm versions. 2. Then the appearance of the Valentin Bapst hymnal in 1545 stirred them to greater activity. In 1567 Leisentritt brought out a similar Catholic book. In his zeal, he tried to have it introduced into the High Mass, and met with strenuous opposition, as he might have foreseen. But there were other opportunities, 3. and the people, now thoroughly aware of the treasure that was theirs by right, were not to be denied.

Suddenly, as an unexpected champion of Catholicism and the Catholic Psalter, Caspar Ulenberg appeared on the scene. After studying as a Lutheran at the University of Wittenberg, he went out for some time as a teacher. But a strange thing happened. He was called to Cologne, to bring back to the Lutheran faith a relative who had embraced Catholicism. This he succeeded in doing, but in the process was himself persuaded towards Rome, and became a Catholic priest in 1575. First he engaged in a lengthy argument with the Calvinists, "alles zur Rettung der Wahrheit". Then in 1582 he published a German Psalter with melodies, and added 'a short report on the whole Christian religion, with a warning against all forms of error.' In a blunt and uncompromising preface, he reviewed old heresies to which the people had been attracted by songs in the common speech of the land, set to delightful tunes which they enjoyed singing at their daily work and in their homes. Now the same sort of thing was happe-

ning again. But in the past, pious and discreet men had spotted such trash in time, and taken measures against it by supplying the laity with good Catholic song-books. 4. This Leisentritt also had more recently done. And this he, Caspar Ulenberg, now hoped to do.

The exchange of accusations and counter-accusations in the sixteenth century can become very confusing. Ulenberg brings Luther and his psalm versions under sharp attack, but he is kindly disposed towards Melissus and Lobwasser. No doubt the reason for this was that they did at least keep fairly closely to a text, whereas Luther often loved to fly off at a tangent. Towards the end of his preface, Ulenberg apologizes for any paraphrase and circumlocution in his psalms. It was just not possible, he says, to retain the exact words of the prophet David to the syllable and the letter, but the substance is all there, and the Holy Spirit's true meaning remains unobscured. 5. Nothing could be closer than that to the Calvinist belief in the verbal inspiration of the Psalter.

Alongside his criticism of the Luther psalm versions, Ulenberg laid another charge: that of a deliberate provocation of the common people's minds against their Catholic spiritual and temporal rulers. 6. Remembering that he had been first a Lutheran, the student reading Ulenberg's Psalter

does well to ask what made him change his mind. And who is better qualified to speak than G.K. Chesterton?: "A man cannot expect any adventures in the land of anarchy. But a man can expect any number of adventures, if he goes traveling in the land of authority."7. The idea of voluntary submission was attractive to Ulenberg; he believed in order and stability.

One very significant piece of paraphrase occurs in his Ps. 2 (Quare fremuerunt). Where Luther's Bible has: "Lasset uns zerreißen ihre Bande, und von uns werfen ihre Seile," Ulenberg writes to this effect: "They speak imprudently and with lack of judgment, when they say: 'Let us break their bonds, and renounce all duty of obedience!'" And again, for Luther's: "Küßet den Sohn, daß er nicht zürne", he writes: "Kiss the Son in bounden duty; be instructed by his correction and accept it willingly."8. With Ulenberg there is a reading-in of dutiful, glad obedience to constituted authority. Writing in the twentieth century, Karl Adam throws many of the difficulties and discords of the sixteenth century into clear relief. As a gift from above, he says, comes the truth of a supernatural revelation, and this can be conveyed to men only through the plenary authority of Catholicism. The Vollmachtsanspruch creates a tension, noticeable wherever human selfhood (Selbetheit) comes up against laws which seem to limit and confine the

free movement of the spirit.

Yet the principle of authority is also a principle of liberty. Though the faith of the Catholic believer is bound up with the teaching of the Church, the Church forbids under penalties all blindly evinced belief and merely external obedience. The Catholic's 'yes' to his Church's teaching must be a matter of inner conviction, an act of discernment and decision, carried out in personal moral freedom. What the Church teaches is law, but not a law imposed from without, like the despotic command of an absolute ruler. That which allows itself in its ethical dealings to be determined by fear and compulsion, is wrong. For the divine law is not a heavy burden to be borne, but an enrichment and a fulfilling of man's humanity.⁹ Ulenberg, having become a Catholic, lived out his faith in a spirit of deep devotion.

Ps. 2 is one of Gunkel's Royal Psalms (Königspsalmen). It records the enthronement of a pre-exilic monarch, and an ancient belief in Yahweh's adoption of the king as his son. Anthropomorphisms in the psalm reveal an incomplete understanding of the nature of God the Father, yet these have been accepted into the Messianic allusion without objection. And certainly anyone hearing Schütz's choirs sing "Du bist mein Sohn, heut hab ich dich gezeuget", finds no obstacle in the derisive laughter of him who dwells in the heavens, laugh-

ter directed at the vain rebellion of the nations against the rule of the anointed Son. Ulenberg's jeering God is even more frightening than Luther's. 10. But beneath all that, he states Catholicism's attitude towards heathendom. The proselytizing vigour of the Church comes from its positive, affirmatory view of everything which is genuinely natural and unspoiled in the pre-Christian world and in the world outside Christianity. Where heathenism connotes apostasy, a falling-away from the living God, it has no more stubborn foe than Catholicism. The only barriers the Church erects are those it puts up against wilful sin. For the rest, as the Church fathers insist, the germ of truth is everywhere. It needs only to be cleared of its clinging accretions, and set free for the kingdom of God. 11.

In the Christian calendar, Ps. 2 is appointed as a Proper Psalm for Easter Day, and Ps. 47 for Ascension. The latter belongs to a group which Gunkel classes as Enthronement Songs (Thronbesteigungslieder). The distinguishing feature of the Royal Psalms is that they describe important events in the lives of ancient Israelite rulers. The Enthronement Songs, on the other hand, deal with Yahweh's assumption of universal kingship. At one or other of the great festivals, the impressive initial ceremony was his ascending of the throne. This is graphically portrayed in the Book of

Common Prayer: "God is gone up with a merry noise; and the Lord with the sound of the trump." Oesterley translates: "God ascendeth with a shout, Yahweh with a blast of the ram's-horn." Then follows the cry that sets the Enthronement Songs apart from all others: "Yahweh is become King over the nations, he sitteth upon his holy throne." 12.

Ulenberg's version of Ps. 47 (Omnes gentes, plaudite) is a jubilant piece of writing. The verse form has something to do with it. The lines are shorter than for Ps.2, but there are more of them to a stanza, and the effect is one of almost breathless exultation. God is "ein Herr fürwahr," and the Gehorsamkeit motif is there again. With considerable verve, Ulenberg takes up the theme of Yahweh's world dominion, of his omnipotence over the peoples.¹³ The thought is all of one great undivided kingdom. Luther's Bible puts it like this: "Die Fürsten unter den Völkern sind versammelt zu einem Volk, dem Gott Abrahams." With Ulenberg there is an additional element in this process of unification, one already noticed in his treatment of Ps.2, and shown to be an aspect of his Catholicism. Although their obedience is obligatory, the princes come in from far and near of their own volition, ready and eager to be named with the people of God.¹⁴.

What here separated Ulenberg and Luther seems

a small enough difference; so small that we might conceivably ask why the great schism was necessary at all. For both these men, religious truth was the focus of living and, if necessary, of dying; everything else converged upon it. From Luther's point of view, the Church had failed men, denied them their spiritual birthright, given them falsehood instead of truth, by permitting and practising wrongs contrary to its high calling. From Ulenberg's point of view, such mistakes could be put right; they were already being corrected. In any case, the Church was greater than its ecclesiastics; a world Church absolutely, since its authority was given it from above. Supposing there had been the patience of obedience on the one side, and the patience of tolerance on the other?

But the gap was wider than patience could bridge. We are told that the Catholic Church is prepared to take over even heathen cultic props and symbols, if they can be stamped with the mark of Christ. Conversely, although it may acknowledge the presence in history of other bodies able to be called Christian in kind, it can never concede that they are the Church, the body of Christ, the realization of God's kingdom on earth. 15. So much for Protestantism, from the unchangeable Catholic standpoint. When Ulenberg wrote his versions, there had been little time to see Luther and Protestantism in perspective. But Luther, the rash reformer,

had had more than a thousand years of history against which to see the Church in proportion; yet he looked only at what lay immediately before his eyes. No doubt Ulenberg was familiar with Luther's comments on Ps. 2. 16. As a Catholic, he must have considered them hot-tempered madness, a blasphemous travesty of the great psalm. The Humanist Erasmus had surely read the signs aright. 17.

The gap was wider than ever a patient authority, spiritual or temporal, could hope to bridge. Those who held the Reformation responsible for splitting the German realm wide open, for dividing the German people, are prone to forget that the land was already disrupted, from other causes. "Before the Reformation, Germany was no more its real self than the grub is the bee or the butterfly."18. What the Reformation did was to release the true spirit of Germany to spontaneous life and self-activity, by letting men live outward from within. In spiritual matters, the German man could no longer remain under the tutelage of a priestly caste; henceforth he must learn to investigate and inquire for himself; he could no longer believe in advance, no longer be satisfied with a faith prescribed for him from without. So the way lay open to philosophic doubt, and eventually to a national literature unthinkable within the bounds of Roman Catholic authoritarianism.19.

This was the brilliant promise of the Reformati-

on, and its fearful peril. For just as Catholicism could belie its own truth in the lives of its members, so Protestantism could disavow its great commission by hardening into a slavish theological system. But always there were men in whom the life-principle of Protestantism survived, in revolt against all forms of submission to any form of religious dictatorship. And in however liberal a spirit enlightened Catholicism might impose obedience, a difference in principle remained, one which no action by ecclesiastical or civil authority could remove.

The hymnody so richly developed by the German evangelical Church bears witness to the difference, in a wealth of song which has never been surpassed. Caspar Ulenberg was a great and good Catholic. His most important work, a translation of the Bible begun in 1614 and finished just before his death, was used, and revised in the light of new knowledge, by several subsequent translators. His Psalms of David were printed over and over again, attracting fresh attention as recently as the nineteenth century. 20. Many of the melodies, some of which were taken from the Genevan Psalter, 21. passed into later Catholic collections. It is interesting to speculate on just what thoughts were in Ulenberg's mind, when he set Catholics singing the tunes of Protestantism.

Notes:

1. Bäumker, I, 6: Johannes Diaconus berichtet darüber... "Aus Leichtsinne mischten sie von ihren eignen Gesängen etwas unter die gregorianischen... Die Modulationen, welche sie gehört haben, vermögen sie nicht in zarter Weise wiederzugeben; vielmehr arten ihre an den Trunk gewöhnten, heiseren Kehlen in natürliches Geschrei aus und bringen so Töne hervor, welche dem Gepolter eines vom Berge herabrollenden Lastwagens ähnlich sind, so dass die Zuhörer mehr betäubt als geführt werden... Allmählich lernten jedoch die Deutschen den lateinischen Choral singen. Das Volk aber, nachdem es die Elemente christlichen Glaubens und christlicher Sitte in sich aufgenommen und mit seinem ganzen Gemüthe erfasst hatte, fühlte bald den unwiderstehlichen Drang in sich, seine innersten religiösen Empfindungen in Wort und Weise zum lebensvollen Ausdruck gelangen zu lassen... Wohl wissen wir, dass die Worte "Kyrie-eleis" es sind, welche in Ermangelung von Liedern in der Muttersprache, dem Volke dazu dienten, seine religiösen Empfindungen im Gesange kund zu geben... Auf diese Weise entstanden die ersten deutschen Kirchenlieder, "Leisen" genannt.

2. Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein;
Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir; Wohl dem, der in Gottes
Furcht steht; the German Nunc Dimittis, Mit Fried und Freud
ich fahr dahin, which Bäumker classes as a Psalmlied.

3. Bäumker, I, 38: Zwar hielten Papst und Bischöfe daran fest, dass der gregorianische Choral nach wie vor der einzig berechtigte Gesang der katholischen Kirche auch in Deutschland bleiben müsse. Durch die Befolgung dieses Grundsatzes wurde aber der weiteren Entfaltung des katholischen deutschen Kirchenliedes ein Hinderniss nicht in den Weg gelegt, denn im ausserliturgischen Gottesdienste: bei stillen Messen, Nachmittags - und Abendandachten, bei Predigten und Katechesen, war hinreichende Gelegenheit geboten, den deutschen Volksgesang zu pflegen.

4. Bäumker, I, 204: Nun haben sich hingegen im alten Christenthumb fromme bedechtige Menner funden, die solchen vrath zeitlich vermerckt... Haben derwegen an Stat der Sectischen Lieder gute Catholische vnd vngefelschte Gesangbücher für die Leyen gestellet, vnd dem gemeinen Volck zu dienst aussgeben lassen.

5. - 205 : - vnd derhalben des Propheten Wort nicht also genaw nach den Syllaben vnd Buchstaben behalten können, sonder zuweilen den Text etwas erweitern, vnd den sinn mit mehrern Worten paraphrastischer weiss geben

müssen; so wirt sich doch befinden, dass gleichwol des Texts inhalt volköllich da ist, vnd die ware meynung des heiligen Geists allenthalben vnverrückt bleibet.

6. - 204 : - neben den Psalmen allerhand lieder gemacht, Darunter etliche zufinden: so nicht allein mit falscher lehr vergifft, sonder auch bissig vnd zu erbitterung der gemüter auff Catholische Geist - vnd weltliche Oberkeit gestellet ...

7. Orthodoxy, 291.

8. Wackernagel, Kld. V, 1067 (Nro. 1324):

Str. 3.

Sie sprechen zwar mit vnuerstande
'lasst vns zureissen ihre bande
vnd abthun alle ghorsams pflicht,
Lasst vns on auffzug langer weile
von vns hinwerffen ihre seile
vnd ihr joch langer leiden nicht.'

Str. 2.

Küsset den Son nach allen pflichten,
lasst seiner zuchtlehr euch berichten
vnd nemet sie gütwillig an,
Damit sein eiffer nicht ergrinne
vnd ihr dann vnter seinem grimme
entweichet von der rechten ban.

9. Adam, 269: Der Katholik ist also in seinem Glaubensbewusstsein innerlich gebunden, gebunden an das autoritative Lehrwort seiner Kirche, das Echo der Verkündigung Christi. Andererseits verpönt die Kirche allen Köhlerglauben und bloss Auserlichen Glaubensgehorsam.

The substance of Karl Adam's argument on churchly authority has been given, it is hoped without any deviation from his meaning. See further, 241: Es besagt also seinem Gehalt nach nicht eine Belastung, sondern eine Bereicherung, Erfüllung, Vollendung des menschlichen Wesens. Es ist Lebenswahrheit, Lebensgesetz. Und darum bejaht es der Gläubige im Licht seiner praktischen Vernunft und macht es sich in freiem, sittlichem Entscheid zu eigen. So wird es sein eigenes Gesetz, eine Tat seiner sittlichen Freiheit.

10. Wackernagel, Kld, V, 1067 (Nro. 1324):

Str. 4.

Der Herr wirt diese bubenrotten
hönlich belachen vnd verspotten
der oben wont im hohen thron,
Er wirt einmal mit schwerer stimme
in sein zorn vnd gerechten grimme
sie hart zuschrecken greiffen an.

11. Adam, 196: Wohl hat das Heidentum keinen hartnäckigeren Feind als den Katholizismus, insofern es Heidentum, Abfall vom lebendigen Gott, Selbstvergötterung oder Naturvergötterung ist. Aber im Heidentum ist nicht bloss Abfall... Die Wahrheitskeime finden sich allüberall... Es gilt nur, diese Keime vom heidnischen Schlinggewächs zu befreien und für das Reich Gottes zu erlösen... (197) Darum kennt die Kirche keine Schlagbäume gegen ausserchristliche Kulturen, auch keine Schlagbäume gegen die Antike. Sie kennt nur Schlagbäume gegen die Sünde.

Ulenberg, Str. 6: - ich wil dir geben
zum erb die heiden vm vnd vm,
Die gantzen welt, ist mein bedencken,
wil ich dir einzunemen schencken,
sie soll dir sein zum eigenthum.

Str. 7.

Du solt die leut zu ghorsam bringen.

12. Common Prayer, Ps. 47 ⁵.

Oesterley, 259, See also Chapter VII,
The Kingship of Yahweh.

13. Wackernagel, Kld, V, 1074 (Nro. 1332):
The psalm is numbered 46, in accordance with the Vulgate
arrangement.

Str. 4.

Denn Got ein König ist
weit vber alle lande.
Lobsinget dieser frist
mit klugheit vnd verstande.
Er sitzt ein König fron
auff seinem heiligen thron
mit ehren pracht gezieret,
Vnd alle nation
sind ihm auch vnterthon,
die heiden er regieret.

14. Str. 5:

Der vöcker Fürsten gut
(ist war vnd nicht erlogen)
Haben mit freiem mut
beinander sich gezogen:
Sie wollen allesam
des Gottes Abraham
ein volck genennet werden,
Der denn ist höchster Herr
vnd kan erheben sehr
die Götter starck auff erden.

Compare Luther's Bible, Ps. 47¹⁰: - denn Gott ist sehr erhöht bei den Schildern auf Erden. Knox, 121, gives this note: The Hebrew text seems to mean: "the rulers of the nations have been reckoned as a people belonging to the God of Abraham; God holds the shields of the earth; he is greatly exalted." The Vulgate has: "the rulers of the nations gather before him, the God of Abraham, men high in honour, powerful lords (literally, gods) of the earth."

15. Adam, 196 and 200: Ja, sie verschmäht es nicht, selbst heidnische Kulthandlungen und Symbole überall da zu übernehmen, wo eine christliche Beseelung und Umprägung möglich ist. Das ist nicht Schwäche, nicht grundsatzlose Anpassung, das ist angewandte Katholizität... Die katholische Kirche ist also der Leib Christi, als die Verwirklichung des Gottesreiches auf Erden die Menschheitskirche... Die Kirche würde ihr eigenstes tiefstes Wesensmerkmal verleugnen,... wenn sie jemals eine christliche Neben- und Gegenkirche als gleichberechtigte Schwester anerkennen würde. Sie kann diesen Kirchen eine historische Bedeutsamkeit zuerkennen. Sie kann dieselben als christliche Gemeinschaften, ja sogar als christliche Kirchen bezeichnen, aber niemals als die Kirche Christi.

16. Hazlitt, 49 (CXI): The second Psalm is one of the best Psalms. I love that psalm with my heart. It strikes and flashes valiantly amongst kings, princes, counsellors, judges. If what this Psalm says be true, then are the allegations and aims of the papists stark lies and folly. If I were as our Lord God, and had committed the government to my son, as he to his Son, and these vile people were as disobedient as they now be, I would knock the world in pieces.

17. Hillerbrand, 424: I was amongst the first to see that there was danger that this matter might end in uproar and no one has ever hated uproar more than I ... I wrote frequently and industriously to my friends to admonish this man to observe Christian meekness in his writings and always serve the peace of the Church. (Letter to Pope Leo X, 1520).

425-426: I seem to see a cruel and bloody century ahead... It is a long-drawn-out tragedy... As things are, certain persons are not satisfied with any of the accepted practices; as if a new world could be built of a sudden. There will always be things which the pious must endure. (Letter to Martin Bucer, 1527).

18. Strauss, III, Vorrede, xiii : Vor der

Reformation war Deutschland so wenig schon es selbst, als die Larve schon die Biene oder der Schmetterling selbst ist. Das Grundwesen des germanischen Geistes ist individuelle Selbstthätigkeit, Leben aus dem eigenen Innern eines Jeden heraus. Der entwickelte Deutsche will selbst mit seinem Bewusstsein, seinem innersten geistigen Wesen dabei sein. Er kann sich in die Länge seinen Glauben nicht von aussen vorschreiben, sich nicht von einer Priesterkaste in geistlichen Dingen bevormunden lassen: er muss selbst forschen.

19. - Vorrede, xxi: Der Zweifel, die Forschung, das philosophische Denken, in Deutschland zuletzt eine nationale Literatur, erwuchs auf diesem Boden, und es ist Freude und Stolz für ein protestantisches Herz, dass diese neue classische Literatur unseres Volkes ausschliesslich dem Protestantismus angehört. Auf katholischem Boden ist sie schlechterdings undenkbar; es ist unmöglich, sich einen katholischen Kant, Lessing, Goethe und Schiller auch nur einen Augenblick vorzustellen.

20. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 39, 182: - wiederholt gedruckt, neu bearbeitet von M. Kaufmann (Augsburg, 1835).

21. Bäumker, I, 205: Ulenbergs Vorrede. - hab auff ein jedes genus carminis oder art reimen besondere Melodeyen zugerichtet und verordnet. Darunter auch etliche, fast die beste und lieblichste Melodeyen auss dem Marotischen oder Calvinischen Psalter gebraucht worden...

Blume, 369: Auf katholischer Seite entspricht dem Genfer Liedpsalter der vollständige Reimpsalter von Kaspar Ulenberg; er wurde mit 81 eigenen Melodien in Köln 1582 veröffentlicht. Sowohl in den Melodieformen, besonders deren rhythmischen Modellen, wie in der häufigen melodischen Anlehnung an die Genfer Weisen (in die Ausgabe von 1603 wurden drei sogar unverändert übernommen) tritt der Zusammenhang deutlich zutage.

5. TOWARDS ABSOLUTISM

MARTIN OPITZ

1597 - 1639

and

GEORG RUDOLF WECKHERLIN

1584 - 1653

THERE IS NOTHING NEW in the idea of peaceful co-existence, or in the failure to put it into practice, except that nowadays we speak of ideologies. In 1555 Germany had resolved that there must be 'complete religious peace'. The Catholic princes were to allow no violence towards any man adhering to the Augsburg Confession; the Protestant estates were to ensure that those holding the old faith should enjoy their rights 'in absolute peace'. But already by 1556, when Ignatius of Loyola died, the Jesuits were everywhere preaching the 'sound' theology of the universities, pledged to the recovery of all that had "fallen sick of the plague of heresy, especially in the northern nations".1. To an anxious Pope, the Society of Jesus had appeared as the writing of the finger of God; to many having different sympathies, these devoted and self-disciplined men were "the feared and formidable storm-troops of the Counter Reformation".2. By the seventeenth century, any hope of reconciliation had passed. Soon after the death of Caspar Ulenberg, the Thirty Years' War

began, and Europe found itself moving towards "those fierce antagonisms of principle which joined battle in the Age of Revolution". 3. Yet on both sides there arose out of the turmoil singers who made religious poetry the best thing the new century had to offer, men like Gerhardt and Heermann, the Jesuits Spee and Balde, and Scheffler, who through the Jesuits in Breslau was drawn away from Lutheranism to the mediaeval mystics. 4.

Of Martin Opitz it can at least be said that he became an advocate of some sort of peace between the warring confessions. 5. But it has to be admitted that he behaved more often as a self-seeking opportunist than as a man genuinely desirous of such a peace. In 1626 he entered the service of Karl Hannibal of Dohna, Silesian Protestantism's most dangerous and hated enemy. In an effort to claim the country for Catholicism, Dohna carried on a cruel and relentless persecution, one which did not overlook some who were near relatives of his poet secretary. It is difficult not to condemn Opitz for seeking and accepting such an appointment in the first place, or for failing to relinquish it when he realized what was going on. On Dohna's orders he translated from Latin into German a much-discussed handbook of instructions for the conversion of Protestants. For this achievement, amongst others, he was raised to the nobility, and became Opitz von Boberfeld. His relationship with Dohna

was abruptly terminated at the siege of Breslau in 1632, when his patron was forced to flee, and he himself to seek supporters in the opposing camp.

Opitz seems to have had at least one thing in common with Karl Hannibal, namely a conviction that the end justifies the means. His master's obsession had been the stamping out of Protestantism; his own was a literary theory, for the spread of which he needed the help of the influential, and time and opportunity to work. All men who have set their hearts on something are Schwarmgeister of one kind or another; they have to be. Opitz seems to have been quite prepared to waive principles in order to reach his objective; but he did believe in what he was doing. And inasmuch as he became very famous, his success was complete. Poets with more native ability and greater sensitivity than he himself possessed, looked up to him as an inaccessible genius of the heights, and unquestioningly obeyed his rules and prescriptions for the writing of superior verse.

The impression made by his Buch von der deutschen Poeterey was tremendous. But this was not really a book about German poetry at all; it was a book about metrical composition in German. Opitz was a versifier rather than a poet. It was in the lack of vital warmth, in the absence of that personal sincerity by which mind speaks to

mind, that his writings fell short. But by seeing the possibilities inherent in the rhythmical pulsations of language, and by sensing that the true function of poetry is as much an idealization as an imitation of nature,⁶ he put into German hands a tool for the fashioning of marvels, and offered poets to come the right of freedom from an alien domination. There had been reformers of the arts before Opitz. Albrecht Dürer, for example, who in Renaissance Venice revitalized German painting, by matching in technical brilliance and the glow of colours anything the best Italians could do. Eager for their knowledge, and working in a rational spirit of experimentation, he mastered their secrets. His imitation was not something external, but an inward self-realization. Devout and deeply introspective, he sought to bring to German art a harmony and a serenity which the late Gothic had missed. And through it he gave Germany a vision of the coherence possible when feeling and reason are in balance.⁷

Opitz's wide knowledge, his skill and application, his sense of shape and proportion, produced work which was more of the head than of the heart.⁸ The collection of Teutsche Poemata, dedicated in 1625 to the Prince of Anhalt-Cöthen as patron of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft, contained psalm versions which he had re-worked in accordance with his own rules. By 1637 he had completed the entire Psalter. ⁹ His method for this undertaking shows what pati-

ent care was given to it: he not only made use of Latin and French translations of the Psalms, but had the collaboration of a Hebrew scholar as well. The greater part of what may be called geistlich in the works of Opitz consists of translations and paraphrases of scriptural texts. He knew what his educated public wanted, and how best to spread and popularize his own ideal of reine Literatur.¹⁰ In 1623 he had put into verse form 'The Epistles for the Sundays and Principal Feasts of the whole year', working to the psalm melodies of Goudimel.

Thought reels at the implications of such an association of melody and text. To consider one instance only: using the tune of the French Ps. 6, Opitz wrote lines on the Sixtieth Chapter of Isaiah, set for the day of the Magi, those mysterious eastern kings who brought gold and frankincense to the infant Christ.¹¹ This passage from Trito-Isaiah, describing the breaking of Yahweh's great light upon Jerusalem, and the gathering of the Gentiles to the holy city, is something very different from the first penitential psalm. But there is a connection, if we stop to explore the idea of divine grace shedding its brightness now on individual suffering and now on the affliction of a darkened world. A more sensitive poet than Opitz might have been aware of this. What he achieved in both Epistles and Psalter was in some ways remarkable, but it was never made perfect

by the moment of insight. 12.

Only two of the Opitz psalm versions were used by Bach. 13. That he left Ps. 6 as a melody with figured bass is hardly surprising, 14. but Ps. 86 reveals some genuine beauties, and is comparatively free of artificial expressions. Bach's inclusion of it in the four-part chorales does suggest that the Church had found something it needed. It is difficult to believe that Opitz approached the Bible altogether dispassionately, in a bleak attitude of mind which assumed that God created Man solely for the refinements of language, because the prophets and the psalmists used words. Even if most of his religious verses were mere "Stilübungen in der neuen Kunstpoesie", 15. here at least he had something to say, in lines which lie somewhere between Bekenntnislied and Erbauungslied, 16. Differences of opinion amongst commentators on the Hebrew psalm are indicative of a similar uncertainty. 17.

It is instructive to compare alternative versions of the same psalm. For Ps. 42, which Melissus and Lobwasser had both put to the French melody in seven 8-line stanzas, Opitz required ten. When he versified it to the tune of Ps. 24, it took up twelve 6-line stanzas. In neither case was the result particularly happy. 18. The first version of Ps. 23, to the French Ps. 8, shows him experimenting with the

quatrain. Several lines in the later one are identical; in others he has partially succeeded in easing the tightness of the earlier closed and difficult form. 19.

Mention must be made of Opitz's Ps. 104. Apart from giving rise to reflections on mutability, Nature as such meant little enough to him. 20. But in occasional flashes, he caught the wonder of the psalmist at man's reliance upon the God of Nature. The success of such infrequent passages is perhaps due to a lucky chance of language, for they are interspersed with others of appalling banality. Yet the fact remains that here and there the alexandrine could be as noble in his hands as ever it became in the hands of Gryphius. 21.

It is in some ways a pity that Opitz ever came across Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia. A lot of bucolic silliness might have been avoided, if German poets had remained content with the Psalter instead. "Judaes was chiefly inhabited by sheep and ecclesiastics, and the main trade of Jerusalem was religion". 22. Sordid as that may sound, it is realistic; more than can be said of the riot of Geziertheit which broke out in German letters. In Israel, the flock-master and his sheep were not only a part of the familiar environment, but a part of the nation's spiritual heritage as well. Certainly, the best Schäferpoesie did keep faith with the loveliest pastoral idyll in the Psalter, and with

the figurative descriptions given by the psalmists of Yahweh as a shepherd. 23. So it is hardly fair to call Opitz "little more than the translator of Sidney and Barclay", and an apologist for "sickly eulogies of patrons, dull paraphrases of the psalms or insipid eclogues and pastorals." 24.

On an August day in 1639, Opitz gave alms to a beggar infected with the plague, and it cost him his life. Was this a grand gesture made by the noble von Boberfeld, so that someone who was watching might report the incident? Or would he have done it with nobody watching? The act was symbolic. For from whatever motive, against a background of confusion and desperate sickness, Opitz had given Germany something. 25.

Notes:
1554.

1. Hillerbrand, 446, Letters of St. Ignatius,

2. Hillerbrand, 420.

3. Ogg, 1.

4. Max, 4 and 7: Doch gerade die geistliche Dichtung ist noch das Beste, was dieses Jahrhundert hervorgebracht hat... Die echten und erfreulichsten unter den Dichtern dieses Jahrhunderts sind anfechtunglose Seelsorger und Pfarrer, wie Paulus Gerhardt oder Heermann, Schwärmer wie Kuhlmann oder Jesus - und Mariensänger wie Spee, Scheffler, Balde. Hier scheint noch etwas von der starken, bedingungslosen Glaubensgewissheit des jungen Luthertums nachzu-

klingen, und andererseits noch ein leiser Hauch von der vergangenen Mystik herüberzuwehen.

5. Max, 214: Er ward... für einen Ausgleich der streitenden Bekenntnisse.

6. Robertson, 211: The different species of poetical composition are enumerated and described, while the art of poetry is regarded generally as an imitation of nature:

Man soll auch wissen, das die gantze Poeterey in nachhffen der Natur bestehe, vnd die dinge nicht so sehr beschreibe wie sie sein, als wie sie etwan sein könnten oder solten...

Like all the theorists of the Renaissance, however, Opitz ignored the factor of poetic inspiration.

7. Albrecht Dürer, The Feast of Rose Garlands. Text by Jaromir Hemelka, translated by Till Gottheiner, Spring Books London, 1961, 13-14: The original German pattern, in other words, was raised to a higher level, and the confusion of late Gothic works arising from agitated religious activity and sentiment is here dispelled by reasoning. In no way is it a question of copying Italian pictures. Dürer's panel is a German painting - any comparison with contemporary Italian paintings leaves no doubt on that score. But in contrast to German painting of the time it is less narrow, formally more cultured, more European.

8. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 24, 377: Alle seine Lieder sind in erster Linie Werke des bewusst mit kühler Ruhe schaffenden Verstandes. Ganz und gar künstlich gemacht, nur mit dem Kopf ausgearbeitet sind seine Gelegenheitsgedichte im engeren Sinn. Die mannigfaltigste Gelehrsamkeit... wird aufgeboten, um den Mangel an Poesie zu ersetzen ... aber trotz aller Sauberkeit, Gewandheit, ja zeitweiligen Zierlichkeit des Ausdrucks ringt er vergeblich mit seiner kühlen und phantasielosen Natur.

Max, 211: Er trug seinen Gott im Gehirn, in Kenntnis und Wissen um seine Eigenschaften, nicht im Herzen.

9. Julian, 1544:

1618 - 1647

During this period the Lobwasser Psalter obtained its ascendancy in the Reformed Church, and no considerable additions of merit were made to the Psalm-versions of the Lutheran Church... The most important complete versions were:

Die Psalmen Davids. Nach den Frantzösischen Weisen gesetzt. Danzig, 1637, By Martin Opitz. A number had previously appeared, e.g. in his Zehen Psalmen Davids, 1634.

Teutscher Poetischer Psalter Davids. Rinteln, 1640. By Andreas Heinrich Bucholtz... By his contemporaries this version was ranked higher than that of Opitz, but it is diffuse and wanting in force.

10. Max, 122 (on the use of the French melodies): Ihre Übernahme hat für Opitz keinen tieferen Grund als den, der Mode der Zeit, der vorhandenen Singlust, grossmütig nachzugeben, um damit sich und seinem Werk eine weitere Verbreitung und Popularität zu erobern und zu sichern. Gondimels Melodien, die bereits der neuen Musik angehörten, mit ihrem volkstümlichen Ton wurden somit das rechte Mittel Opitzens, Psalmen zu verschleissen und populär zu machen.

123: Wir sehen, Opitz machte mit seiner Psalmenübersetzung wohl bei der gelehrten Welt, die ihren Wert absehen und schätzen konnte, nicht aber beim Volk besonderen Eindruck.

11. Fischer-Tümpel, I, 240 (Nro.294):

An der H. Drey König tage.

Jesai. am 60.

Auff den 6. Psalm.

Str. 3.

Die Völcker auff der Erden,
So je beschienen werden
Durchs klare Sonnen Licht,
Die sollen dein Licht kennen,
Zum Glantze frölich rennen,
Der aus der Höhe bricht.

12. Max, 124: Diese Leistung Opitzens überwiegt aber nicht den Mangel an eigenem Seelenton und persönlichem Gemütsenerlebnis, den Mangel an Gehalt. Er fehlt nicht immer, liegt aber nie im Schwerpunkt.

13. Terry, II, No. 436, Herr, nicht schicke deine Rache. Hymn, by Martin Opitz, in ten 8-line stanzas (1634), Melody, by Louis Bourgeois (1547), to Non Dieu, preste moy l'aureille.

Terry, I, No. 232, Lass, o Herr, dein Ohr sich neigen. Hymn, by Martin Opitz, a translation of Psalm lxxxvi, in eight 8-line stanzas (1637). Melody, by Louis Bourgeois (1547), to Psalm lxxxvi.

14. Fischer-Tümpel, I, 242 (Nro.297):

Str. 2.

Schicke lieber, O! mir armen
Für den Kyfer dein Erbarmen;
Heile mich, dann ich vorhin
Schwach vnd Lagerhafftig (bettlägerig) bin.
Siehe, wie ich ab sey kommen,
Wie mir alle Krafft genommen.
Mache, HERR, es ja nicht lang,
Marck vnd Bein ist sterbekranck.

Str. 6.

Meiner Augen heisse Zehren,
Die mir Ruhe vnd Schlaff beschweren,
Quellen als ein Wasserfluss,
Dass mein Lager schwimmen muss.

15. Max, 92.

16. F/T. I, 248 (Nro.304):

Lass, o HERR, dein ohr sich neigen,
Dir mein wort zu hertzen steigen;
Stoss mich ja nicht von dir hin,
Weil ich arm vñ elend bin.

Hüte meiner seel vnd leben,
Die ich heilig dir ergeben;
Bringe deinen knecht auss noth,
Der auff dich nur hofft, o Gott!

Str. 4.

Kein Gott, HERR, kan dir sich gleichen,
Alle that muss deinen weichen;
Aller heyden grosse schar,
Die dein werck sind gantz vnd gar,
Werden, HERR, sich vor dir neigen.

17. Oesterley, 387: Some expositors regard it as the utterance of the community speaking as an individual, thus illustrating the familiar Israelite doctrine of corporate personality. Others, with more probability, hold it to be an expression of the religious emotion of an individual.

18. Fischer-Tümpel, I, 246 (Nro.302):

Str. 8.

Frey vnd mutig will ich sagen:
Du mein starcker felss, o Gott,
Kanst du wol nicht nach mir fragen?
Denckst du nicht an meine noth?
Warumb muss mein schwartzes kleidt
Zeuge seyn der trawrigkeit,

Dahinein mein feind mich setzet,
Der mich drucket vnd verletzet?

I, 241 (Nro.296):

Str.10.

Mein fells, auff den ich gantz gebawt,
O Gott, dem meine seele trawt,
Wil ich mit eyfer zue jhm sagen,
Gedenkst du dann an mich ietzt nicht?
Gestehst du, das mein hertze bricht,
In dem die feinde mich so plagen?

19. I, 243 (Nro.299):

Gott ist mein Hirt, ich darff nicht
mangel leiden;
Er giebet mir die ruh auff grüner Heyden,
Er weiset mich bey stillen quellen an,
Das ich den durst mit frewden leschen kan.

Er schüttet für des reichen trostes gaben,
Den matten geist vndt seele mir zuelaben,
Führt mich den weg, der richtig ist vnd frey,
Damit hierdurch sein name kundtbar sey.

I, 245 (Nro. 301):

Gott ist mein hirt, ich darff nicht
mangel leiden;
Er giebet mir die rhu auf grüner heiden
Vnd führet mich, wo frische wässer rinnen.
Er labet mir die matte seel vnd sinnen,
Führt mich den weg, der richtig ist vnd
eben,
Darnit hier durch sein Name weit mag schweben.

20. Max, 213: Nach einem Naturgefühl, das sich bei den gleichzeitigen geistlichen Dichtern fast iamer mit dem religiösen verbindet, suchen wir bei Opitz vergebens. Der Anblick einer Blume erinnert ihn höchstens an die Vergänglichkeit des Irdischen, nicht an die Grösse Gottes und die Schönheit seiner Schöpfung. Natur bleibt ihm rätselhaft, unerschlossen wie Gott und Tod; er kennt nur ihre Namen, Eigenschaften, Nutzen.

21. Kemp, 145 (Der 104. Psalm):

Des Herren wertcs Lob soll ewig bei uns wallen,
Wir wollen allezeit erheben seine Kraft;
Der Herr der Herren hat ein grosses Wolge-
fallen,
Hat seines Herzens Lust an Werken, die
er schafft.

Ich will aus aller Kraft des Herren Ruhm
erheben,
Will preisen meinen Gott mein ganzes
Leben lang,
Will, also weit er mir auf Erden Frist wird
geben,
Erhöhen seine Macht durch meinen Lobge-
sang.

22. A New Commentary on Holy Scripture,
London, S.P.C.K., 1946 reprint. Part III, 350, The Acts
of the Apostles, xi (E.J. Bicknell).

23. Luther's Bible, Ps. 78:

70. Und erwählte seinen Knecht David, und nahm ihn von den
Schafställen.

71. Von den säugenden Schafen holte er ihn, dass er sein
Volk Jakob weiden sollte, und sein Erbe Israel.

72. Und er weidete sie auch mit aller Treue, und regierte
sie mit allem Fleiss.

Ps. 80²; Du Hirte Isra-
els, höre, der du Joseph hütetest wie der Schafe; erscheine,
der du sitzt über Cherubim.

Ps. 23¹; Der Herr ist
mein Hirte; mir wird nichts mangeln.
See Oesterley, 183: Here He (Yahweh) tends a single member
of the flock. This is not without significance; for it
points to the growing sense of the importance of the indivi-
dual in contrast to the traditional conception of the commu-
nity as the unit of divine solicitude.

24. Waterhouse, Introduction.

25. Max, 217: Immerhin aber hat Martin Opitz
... der durch die Reformation freigewordenen inneren, geist-
lichen oder religiösen Einzelperson neue Möglichkeiten per-
sönlichen Singens und Sagens eröffnet, für die Entwicklung
der deutschen Dichtung eine einmalige, bedeutsame Leistung.

* * *

The attractions which drew Martin Opitz to Heidelberg in
1619, as a young man of twenty-two, oriented his maturity.
Heidelberg had a celebrated library, but more, Heidelberg

had an electoral court and men of influence. Here he glimpsed Society, the world of diplomatic finesse and refinement which became the goal of his hopes. He was a scholarly citizen, looking for a place in the aristocracy of officialdom. He discovered that the people in this desirable world wore masks. They were interested in learning, fascinated by the Renaissance in an impersonal way, and above all else socially conscious of themselves and each other; unlike the men of the Renaissance, who had come to an understanding with Society, and claimed their rights as individuals within it. 26.

Weckherlin was already the man of society that Opitz so much desired to be, the Weltmann to the manner born. 27. Two things spurred him to the exercise of his talent as a writer: the first was his office as a diplomat, for which such cultural interests were required; the second was a broader ambition to make worthwhile poetry in German. 28. Before the Opitzian literary dogmas were ever formulated, he was writing festal odes, in a style which allowed him to express himself without giving himself away. The man who was to precede John Milton as England's Secretary of Foreign Tongues, included in his 1618 collection of poems one with German, English, French and Latin stanzas. But it was the Renaissance French of Ronsard and du Bellay that exerted the strongest influence over his early style. For

later collections, he revised many of the verses he had previously written, to meet the demands of Opitz. 29.

In the publications of 1641 and 1648, biblical themes appeared, almost all as psalm versions. Although these were little suited to congregational use, they said what they had to say in a stylized but honest fashion, free of any attitudinizing. 30. Here Weckherlin was the preceptor but not the moralist; a teacher, but "ganz unschulmeisterisch". Affected by the material with which he was working, and although limited by it, he became more independent as a writer. For really the only limitation which the psalm text imposed on Weckherlin was that it guided the line of his thought. If it were possible, in one sweeping generalization, to state the difference between sixteenth - and seventeenth-century versions, one might say that it consisted in departing more and more from the words of the text and in expressing more and more individually the essence of its meaning. Hans Sachs the Mastersinger did little beyond arranging the psalms according to the rules of his art. With the one magnificent exception of Ein feste Burg, even Luther followed the psalm in related language; apart, that is, from his characteristic interpolations. Against the more stately pace of Weckherlin's "moralische Reflexion", 31. the tone of fighters like Luther and Selnecker seems unnecessarily abrupt.

And that is a second aspect of the difference:

it is not solely a question of what was happening to German as a vehicle of literary expression, but as well a matter of what was happening to Germans. The beautiful little Individual Lament which is Ps. 13, and which Waldis seemed to make so vividly personal, nearly loses its character in the garb of Weckherlin's thought and language; yet his meditation on suffering is his own meditation. The Wisdom-poetry of Ps. 128 presented him with a wonderful opportunity, and he made the most of it. There is something almost comical about seeing the polished diplomat so gravely engaged with the 'Peasant's Paradise' psalm, but he meant every word of it, and it covered a good many words. Luther disposed of his version in twenty lines, Selnecker of his in thirty-two; Weckherlin's takes up seventy-two.³²

The reflective mode of dealing with a text, as Weckherlin adopted it, suited Ps. 90 very well. The psalm itself is called 'a prayer of Moses, the Man of God'. Commenting on the title, Oesterley writes: "The reflective type of mind here exhibited, however, suggests a later rather than an earlier date." Weckherlin's verses show a touching humility of mind, but they miss the whole point of the psalm, a passionate longing for permanence. "Above all, the psalmist pleads for something that will endure. If he and his contemporaries must pass away, at least let their work abide".³³ As a

writer, Weckherlin felt keenly his lack of success with a wider public; he was not much read, except in South Germany. What applied to Opitz applied equally to him, although he was in some ways less superficial than his famous contemporary. The trend of German letters was already towards something different.³⁴. Had he inquired more closely, the poet of Ps. 90 could have told him why. ³⁵.

Notes: 26. Hankamer, 132: Das deutsche Barock und seine Literatur untersteht dem Gesetz der Weltstunde, die Gesellschaftlichkeit als Lebensart vorschreibt und nicht wie die Renaissance Persönlichsein, wobei der einzelne in der Gemeinschaft erwächst und sich mit ihr auseinandersetzt, sein Recht suchend.

 27. Hankamer, 53: Weckherlin ist am Hof schon heimisch, fühlt sich in dieser Lebensart durchaus sicher... der Repräsentant des Beamtenadels, der bei Hof bereits eingebürgert ist.

 28. Stammer, 491: Der typische Vertreter dieser Gesellschaftsdichtung ist der Schwabe Georg Rudolf Weckherlin. Dem Hofmann und Diplomaten ist Dichten Erholung von der Berufsarbeit, Erhöhung des Lebensgenusses, Veredelung der Geselligkeit, aber auch Ausbildung der Sprache.

 29. Stammer, 492: Sein poetisches Talent ist zu schwach, um die Sprache willig in die Strophen zu biegen. Erst als ihm Opitzens Anweisungen die Augen geöffnet haben, beseitigt er die schlimmsten Anstösse und glättet die Reime... der Intellekt wacht über jedem Schritt wahren Gefühls.

 30. Hankamer, 171: In Weckherlin tritt der barocke Dichter auf, der sich in hoher Stilisierung, wenn auch persönlich, äussert. Die grosse Gebärde wird hier durch eine

bedeutende Persönlichkeit ausgefüllt und bleibt nicht leere Attitüde.

31. Hankamer, 168: In den Psalmliedern wird die religiöse Inbrunst, die Luthers Übersetzungen und seine besten Lieder zeigen, durch moralische Reflexion ersetzt. Aber es bleibt ein echt pathetischer Ton erhalten.

32. On Ps. 13, compare Waldis, Note 9, with Weckherlin's version, Fischer-Tümpel, III, 246:

1.

Wie lang, O Höchster Herr, wie lang
Soll sich mein hertz bekräncken
Vnd, das du nicht in diesen zwang
An mich gedanckest, schier gedanken?
Wie lang verbirget sich für meiner
schweren pein,
Herr, deiner gnaden süsser schein?

2.

Wie lang sol meiner sorgen heer
Mein hirn bey tag verstören
Vnd meiner angst vnd vbeln Meer
Mein schwaches hertz zu nacht bethören?
Wie lang soll sich noch wol durch deines
knechts deemuht
Auffblasen des feinds vbermuht?

4.

Erröt du, Herr, mich, deinen Knecht
Von deiner feinden händen,
Auff das, als ob jhr toben recht,
Sie sich nicht rühmen vnd dich schänden,
Das nicht mein layd vnd fall des bösen
frewd vn ehr
Erhöb (vnbillich) vnd vernehr.

On Ps. 128, see Wackernagel, Kld. IV, 240:

Selnecker.

Es wirdt sein Weib gantz fruchtbar sein,
gleich ein Weinstock voll Trauben fein,
Vnd seine Kind vmb seinen tisch
gleich wie die Balsanzweige frisch.

Fischer-Tümpel, III, 248:

Weckherlin.

Dein weib, die deines hertzens

Vnd hauses Cron vnd Ehr,
Wirt deines keuschen schertzens
Auch andren eine Lehr,
Indem sie wie ein Reben
So liebe reich als fruchtreich
Ernewern wirt dein leben
Mit frewd vnd frucht zugleich.

5.

Froh sollen dan nicht minder
Umgeben deinen Tisch
Wie Ohlzweig deine kinder
Aufwachsend fromb vnd frisch:
Daher dein hauss prachtieret,
Durchauss mit zucht vnd lust
(Recht Gartengleich) gezieret
Wie mit lieb deine brust.

33. Oesterley, 407.

34. Hankamer, 179, on Opitz: Das Neue geht von ihm aus aber auch in dem Sinne, dass es von ihm weg zu etwas anderem ging, ohne jedoch die Grundlage seiner Reform aufzugeben.

Stammler, 492, on the poems of Weckherlin:
Die Zeitgenossen sprachen mit Achtung von ihnen, liebten sie aber nicht. Weckherlin hatte den Grundsatz der Bildungspoesie auf die Spitze getrieben, die Entwicklung liess ihn abseits stehen und setzte an einem anderen Punkte wieder an.

35. Luther's Bible, Ps. 90:

12. Lehre uns bedenken, dass wir sterben müssen, auf dass wir klug werden.

Kemp, 149:

Gib uns die Wissenschaft (deines Geists Lehr und Gab),
Recht unsre Tag zu zählen,
Dass unser Herz allein mit Weisheit sich erlab
Und mög allein was not und gut allzeit erwählen!

16. Zeige deinen Knechten deine Werke, und deine Ehre ihren Kindern.

17. Und der Herr, unser Gott, sei uns freundlich, und fördere das Werk unserer Hände bei uns, ja das Werk unserer Hände wolle er fördern.

Geruhe, höchster Gott, uns deiner Gnaden Schatz
Nu wieder zu verleihen;

Dass deine Herrlichkeit in unserm Tun, Fürsatz
Und Wandel sich erzeig und wir durch dich gedeihen!

Der du uns, wie du willst, allweis, allgross, allgut,
Kannst führen, ziehen, wenden,
Regiere unsre Hand und unsern Mund und Mut,
Dass wir nichts ohn dich, Herr, anfangen noch vollenden!

Compare Ringwaldt, Note 19.

MARTIN RINCKART

1586 - 1649

After the Trostgedichte, written early but published late, Martin Opitz seldom spoke again so directly to men as a man. 1. Having climbed above the people, he forsook compassion; unless his giving of alms to a beggar was a final act of pity. Martin Rinckart, who survived Opitz by some ten years, spent the entire period of the Thirty Years' War amongst the people of Eilenburg in Saxony. A walled town affording some protection, it received large numbers of refugees from the surrounding countryside, becoming overcrowded and so the more exposed to the ravages of famine and plague. We are told that in 1637, as the only clergyman left, Rinckart read the burial service over more than four thousand of the dead; then the situation got so completely out of hand that the refugees had to be buried in trenches, without any religious rites at all. 2. For his courage in constant dangers, and for his devotion to the townspeople, Rinckart was rewarded with little more than ingratitude by those whom he had helped to the limits of his physical resources and beyond. While most were concerned only with preserving themselves alive, he remained completely selfless.

Probably his habit of writing helped to keep him from the edge of despair, as the tragedy went on and on. It has so often happened with men of faith, that they found

something to do when others were numbed into inactivity. A spade, and a spitful of earth to turn, and they could still believe in a tomorrow; a pen, and the expectation of the centuries to recall, and they could still express the timelessness of hope. So when Rinckart made his version of Ps. 65, he poured into it all his longing for the peace which must eventually come, and which he did in fact live to see. Using the rhythmical patterns of Nicolai's Morgenstern, 3. he wrote

Wie leuchtet uns der Friedenstern
So schön und lieblich schon von fern!

Which had nothing whatever to do with the opening words of the psalm: "Gott, man lobet dich in der Stille zu Zion, und dir bezahlt man Gelübde." But these very soon appeared, in a form reflecting Rinckart's physical and mental exhaustion. And the figure was repeated, to show by implication the uselessness and injustice of the suffering heaped upon the people, governors and governed alike. 4.

Ps. 65 and Ps. 67 (which Luther had versified have much in common. They are both songs of harvest. They both acknowledge sin, and emphasize the duty of praise. They both sound a universalistic note, and express gratitude for the deeds of Yahweh in establishing his people. All these elements are in Rinckart's psalm, 5. grouped about the insistent prayer:

Bring uns Frieden,
Frieden, Frieden all und jeden.

- We are tired of quarrelling and strife; O quietness of peace, fill our hearts, which are aching with sorrows; hear the will of God, who can still the wild disorder - Until at last, as the psalmists had sometimes done, Rinckart thought himself into the moment of fulfilment. It is a point to be noted that, where the Book of Common Prayer shows future tenses at the end of the psalm, Luther and others use the present.⁶ The psalmist makes Nature herself rejoice; Rinckart is content to have the people singing and dancing again. No more stricken refugees, no more hunger and fear. The scene is one of unrestrained country merriment, the noisy celebration of harvest home. How could Rinckart have expressed more aptly the blessings of peace? 7.

His whole concern was for the Gemeinde. He is too matter-of-fact, and rather clumsy, when he writes of all that lay behind the feeding of his people. In Ps. 65, the praise required of men is praise of the Creator-Sustainer not of Man alone, but of the entire creation. Yahweh's solicitude for everything living is well shown in Ps. 104, which puts such stress upon the gift of life-bringing water. So in Ps. 65: remembrance of the early watering of the ploughed furrows is as much a part of the psalmist's call to praise as is sight of the corn standing in full ear. Some of the best passages in Opitz's Ps. 104 give most clearly the spirit of Ps. 65, in just those places where Rinckart is least suc-

cessful. 8.

As a theologian, Rinckart really found himself more at home with Ps. 103, in which Yahweh is praised as the God of History rather than of Nature. His version of it is explicitly Christocentric, since for him Christ gave history its meaning.⁹ But it is when he ponders on Ps. 118, which Luther called 'the beautiful Confitemini', that he reveals his real affinity with the psalmists. In two completely different hymns, he employs the verse "O Herr, hilf, o Herr, lass wonngelingen", as a refrain. In the second of these, he imposes upon it a passage from St. Luke, so that the old Covenant and the new are brought together to show God's progressive revelation of himself. By no stretch of imagination could either Hilf uns, Herr, in allen Dingen or In deinem Namen steh ich auf, be called a psalm version as such. Yet taken together, they are an exact representation of what German writers had done with the Psalter, and of what they were about to do with it more and more frequently. The first hymn is pure Bekenntnislied; the second is a meditative and private declaration of faith, but with a universal application.

As this study has attempted to show, certain correspondences between German and Hebrew psalm writings are too remarkable to be ignored. That they are the result of

an intuitive apprehension rather than of any conscious reasoning or imitative process, is clear from the fact that they could hardly have been apparent until scholars like Gunkel began to solve the riddles of the Psalter. Gunkel observed that Ps. 118 begins with "a choral introduction to an individual song of thanksgiving."¹⁰ Oesterley takes this further: "This obviously congregational act of worship introducing a psalm of purely personal character supports the view that the two parts did not originally belong together, but that the introduction was put in its present place when the psalm was adapted to public worship. In all that follows, the original personal note is now understood collectively of the people as a whole". He then shows that the same thing happens at other points in the psalm, "when the religious instinct feels that the beautiful outpouring of an individual should be adapted to wider use."¹¹

With these two songs, then, both founded on the old-world cry for help in Ps. 118, Rinckart came to the crossroads of German psalmody. In the first of them, mir occurs only once; in the other, wir occurs only once, yet the sweep of his thought embraces the world.¹² Neither of them discloses a writer of any exceptional stature. But with Nun danket alle Gott, Rinckart succeeded in creating the last great Bekenntnislied in the Luther manner, a German Te Deum

which ranks with Ein feste Burg in the affections of Christendom. It remains one of the enigmas of hymnody. He himself called it a Tischgebetlein, and it is more than likely that it was written at a time when the complete collapse of German Protestantism seemed imminent, before Swedish intervention made the indescribable confusion worse confounded.¹³.

Johann Crüger's splendid melody does belong to the year of the peace, and invests the Rinckart words with a breadth and majesty largely responsible for their unrestricted associations.¹⁴. Schweitzer, speaking of the writers of the period generally, has this to say: "In one inspired song the poet, become for the moment a genius, will express magically what in other songs he could only stammer out. And this one song will live."¹⁵. Wedded to its tune, by which it seems to have become identified with the general rejoicing of 1648, Nun danket alle Gott is what the generations of men have made it.¹⁶. Rinckart lived to hear his 'little prayer' resounding across the land, and that must have pleased him.

Notes:

1. Schöne, 7: - nun ich bin auch bedacht

Zue sehen ob ich mich kan auss dem staube schwingen/
Vnd von der dicken schar des armen volckes dringen
So an der erden klebt. ich bin begierde voll
Zue schreiben wie man sich im creutz auch frewen soll/

Sein Meister seiner selbst ...
Vieleichte werden noch die bahn so ich gebrochen/
Geschicktere dann ich nach mir zue bessern suchen/
Wann dieser harte krieg wird werden hingelegt/
Vnd die gewünschte rhue zue Land vnd Meer gehegt.

2. Julian, 962: The next year he had an epidemic of marriages to encounter, and himself fell a victim on June 24. Immediately thereafter came a most severe famine, during which Rinckart's resources were strained to the utmost to help his people. Twice also he saved Eilenburg from the Swedes, once in the beginning of 1637, and again in 1639.

3. Fischer-Tümpel, I, 458 (Nro. 516):

Der Teutsche David
Vnd sein fröhliches Fried-vnd Frewden Ernden-Lied
Der 65. Psalm

Im Thon: Des (Iambo-Trocheischen) Morgensterns.

4. Str. 2:

Wo Friede wohnt in einem Land,
Da lobet man im Kirchen-Stand
Dich täglich in der stille.
Da schawet man dein Angesicht,
Da bringet man die Opfer-Pflicht
Mit aller Frewden-Fülle ...

Str. 6.

Wo Friede wohnt in einem Land,
Da blühet der Regenten-Stand,
Wie Laub, vnd Gras im Lentzen
Das Land, das sich auff dich verlesst ...

Str. 8.

Wo Friede wohnt in einem Land,
Da wächst der gemeine Stand
Wie Klee im kühlen Meyen.

5. Str. 3.:

In deiner schawen-Burg Zion
Erscheinen wir vor deinem Thron,
Einnüthig anzubeten.
Da lässestu erbitten dich
Vnd uns verzeihst gnädiglich,
So hart wir übertreten.

Str. 7.

Wenn an sie wil ein Krieges-Heer,
So bistu noch gerüstet mehr
Vnd brichst der Völker Toben,
Dass Sie umbwenden ihren Fuss
Vnd alle Welt sich wundern muss

Ob deiner Wecht von Oben.

Str. 9.

Dein Lebens-Brünnlein tieff vnd weit
Verseuget gar zu keiner Zeit
An Reichthumb, Gnad vnd Segen.

6. Common Prayer, Ps. 65¹³:

They shall drop upon the dwellings of the
wilderness: and the little hills shall rejoice on every side.

14. The folds shall be full of sheep: the
valleys also shall stand so thick with corn, that they shall
laugh and sing.

Luther's Bible, Ps. 65¹³: Die Wohnungen
in der Wüste sind auch fett, dass sie triefen, und die Hügel
sind umher lustig.

14. Die Anger sind voll Schafe, und die Auen
stehen dick mit Korn, dass man jauchzet und singet.

7. Str. 13:

Das ist die güldne Friedens Zeit,
Darüber auch die Acker-Leut
Im Felde jauchtzen, springen
Vnd hegen jhren Schnitter-Tantz
In jhrem Stroh- vnd Lorber-Krantz;
Vnd solten wir nicht singen?

8. Kemp, 142:

Du machst die Berge nass, schickst angenehmen
Regen
Aus deinen Wolken her mit einer milten
Hand;
Die Luft muss schwanger sein, gebären deinen
Segen,
Dein süsser Perlentau befeuchtet alles
Land.

9. Fischer-Tümpel, I, 463 (Nro. 520):

Str. 2.

Lobe deinen Sünden-Träger,
Der sich für dich gab in Todt.

Str. 4.

Lobe, lobe noch viel mehr
Den, der seine Gnaden-Lehr
Vns in Christo offenbaret
Vnd so lange Zeit bewahret.

Str. 11.

Lobet jhn, jhr starcken Helden,
Die jhr steht für seinem Thron,

Allen Völickern anzumelden,
Was befielt sein grosser Sohn.

10. Rowley, foot of 177.
11. Oesterley, 482.
12. Fischer-Tümpel, I, 464 (Nro. 521):
Hilff vns, HErr, in allen Dingen
Vnd lass alles wol gelingen.
Vnd gieb deinem Häuffelein
Vnd der gantzen Christenheit
Liebe, Fried vnd Einigkeit ...
Hilff vns, HErr, aus allen Pluthea
Der betrübten Krieger-Noth ...
aus allen Jammer
Der besorgten Hungers-Noth,
Die vns führt zur Todes-Kammer
Vnd ist Ärger als der Todt ...
aus allen Leiden
In der letzten Todes-Noth:
Lass vns fahren hin mit Freuden ...
aus allen Aengsten
Dieser eitel-kurtzen Zeit
In das Land, da wir am längsten
Bleiben in all Ewigkeit.

F/T. I, 471 (Nro. 525):

Str. 4.

In deinem Namen tret ich vor,
Dich vnd dein Wort zu preisen.
HERR, öffne mir Hertz, Mund vnd Ohr,
Dein Volck zu unterweisen,
Dass dich die gantze Welt erkenn
Vnd ihren Gott vnd Heyland nenn.
O HERR, hilff! O HERR, lass wolgelingen.

13. F/T, I, 472 (Nro. 526):
- 1636 (wohl zuerst) gedruckt, aber bereits 1630 oder früher
gedichtet worden ... Mit dem Abschluss des Westfälischen
Friedens, womit das Lied oft in Verbindung gebracht worden
ist, hat es jedenfalls nichts zu tun.

14. Terry, II. Nos. 265 and 266. Nun danket
alle Gott. Hymn, by Martin Rinkart, in three 8-line stanzas
(1636). Melody, by Johann Crüger, (1648).

15. Schweitzer, I, 11.

16. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 30, 75: In seiner treuen Einfalt spricht er zu jedem Herzen, und das "Tischgebetlein", wie Rinckart es so schlicht nannte, ist zu einem wahren Gemeinde- und kirchlichen Volksliede geworden, das seither zu der schönen Crüger'schen Melodie fast in allen erhebenden Augenblicken des öffentlichen Lebens als ergreifender Weihgesang ertönt. Mit keinem seiner anderen Lieder, wie sehr sie im Tone an Rinckart's Vorbilder, Johann Heermann's Dichtungen erinnern und obgleich sie frei von jener "Seelensfüssigkeit" waren, in der die geistliche Lyrik des fortschreitenden 17. Jahrhunderts schwelgte, hat Rinckart je gleiche Erfolge erzielt, allerdings erreichte auch kein zweites die naive und doch bedeutende Art, mit der er in diesem "Danklied der lobsingenden Gotteskinder" erlebte Erfindung objectiv darstellte.

PART TWO:

THE PERIOD OF

THE ERBAUUNGSLIED

(1648 - 1750)

1. PAUL GERHARDT

1607 - 1676

THE INQUIRING STUDENT is apt to be baffled by the linguistic subtleties of German literary criticism, when it undertakes to explain the nature of changes. The phenomenon of the Erbauungslied presents such a problem. One way of solving it is to take the chorales of J.S. Bach to the piano and play first Martin Rinckart's Nun danket alle Gott in both settings, one in G major, the other in A. Lifted by a full tone, Crüger's tune becomes a triumphant paean. To turn then to Gerhardt's Befiehl du deine Wege, which has a little difficulty over establishing its key, is to hear a seventeenth-century man reflecting on life and time. For all the gentleness of the music, there is a tension in its uneasy chromaticisms. To go one step further, and play Gib dich zufrieden und sei stille, for which Bach composed his own plaintively beautiful melody, is to become musically aware that an other-world radiance has touched one of the darkest and most restless keys of all. 1.

Both these Gerhardt hymns are based on Ps.37, but each takes only one verse as its point of departure. The psalm was one of Luther's favourites, 2. and he used it when writing from the Wartburg to exhort his Wittenbergers to patience. They needed only to remain firm and undismayed, and

everything would turn out right. He assured them of his absolute certainty concerning the gospel to which he had testified at Augsburg, Leipzig and Worms. On his island of Patmos, amongst the bats and the owls, he re-asserted his one unbreakable conviction: "Befiehl dem Herrn deine Wege, und hoffe auf ihn; er wird es wohl machen."

The Hebrew psalm, which belongs to the Wisdom-poetry type, has the doctrine of rewards and punishments as its theme. The psalmist's outlook is optimistic; in spite of appearances to the contrary, he insists, the upright in this world will prosper and the ungodly be brought low. The rather unsatisfactory dogmatism of such a point of view has not escaped notice:

I have been young and now am not too old;
And I have seen the righteous forsaken,
His health, his honour and his quality taken.
This is not what we were formerly told. 3.

The unwavering confidence of the Wisdom writer stands in marked contrast to the anguish of doubt expressed by the poet of Ps. 73, 'the great Nevertheless'. But it satisfied his readers and hearers, just as Luther's encouragement helped the people of Wittenberg. It was diesseitig, and promised some hope of a reversal of fortunes. But for the writer of Ps. 73, hope was beginning to be jenseitig.

For Paul Gerhardt it was both, and this alone

sets him apart from most of his contemporaries. He was almost the only lyric poet able to carry over into the spirit of the new age that particular quality in Luther's religious thought which made it volkstümlich. In him the idiom of the Baroque rediscovered for Germans the happier Luther who belonged to the people. 4. In speaking for himself, he spoke for German Protestantism, and without Anfechtungen; he was never troubled by Luther's "Who knows whether it is so?"

Ps. 37 is abecedarian, with each letter of the Hebrew alphabet leading in two lines of the text, thus its length and repetitive tendency are explained by its artificial construction. Gerhardt made Befiehl du deine Wege an acrostic on Luther's verse five. This called for twelve stanzas which had to follow a fixed pattern, and he met this rather unnatural demand with considerable skill. His lyric always seems so simple and unforced; sometimes too facile, but always behind its apparently easy smoothness lies a masterly command of form. 5.

Gerhardt is at his best when he is not bound by the full text of a psalm; that is, when he is free to be Gerhardt. Having chosen his theme, he improvises on it with effective modulations, without ever going far away from home for long at a time. Right at the beginning of Befiehl du deine Wege, he brings individual human existence into relationship with a natural world which has its own independent life;

a world of ordered movement, purposefully directed by the ruler of the heavens. He who guides the wind and the clouds on their way must surely know where a man should set his feet in order to travel safely. It is only a question of trust, of observing God at work, and of asking to be led.⁶ The spirit of man is reconciled with his environment through the tireless activity of God. This is Gerhardt's fundamental realism. And it has nothing of the loneliness of littleness before God.

Gott sitzt im Regimente
Und führet alles wohl.

This sounds like what has been called the cocksure optimism of Robert Browning. But Browning's Abt Vogler, extemporizing at the organ, is very like Gerhardt:

for my resting-place is found,
The C major of this life.

In Gerhardt the tension of seventeenth-century religious life was eased, a tension built up by the strong pull of eternity on the minds of men immured within the temporary prison of an unhappy world. His faith was never weltflüchtig, and he was able to resolve the discord of a deep contradiction by which he himself was not affected. Befiehl du deine Wege does not refuse to acknowledge human distress; it transforms sorrow into psalms of joy.⁷

For Gib dich zufrieden, Gerhardt took verse

seven of Ps. 37. The two passages are very similar.⁸ The most significant difference is this: One has hoffe, the other warte. He was a man of nearly sixty, older by some thirteen years, when he wrote the second hymn, and the mood of resignation is much more pronounced. But this does not mean that Gerhardt's standpoint has changed from one of affirmation to one of negation. God is still the Sun of Life, the Source of Light, whose daily shining is the fulness of joy. To object that this is a metaphor is, of course, quite correct. Nothing was ever further from Gerhardt's thinking than the error of pantheism. He loved the sun in much the same way as Francis of Assisi loved it, wholeheartedly, and for its own sake, as the great work of God's hands. After all, unless a man has learned to love the lights of morning and of evening, there is little point in using them in such a figure of speech. Nature was never the highest and the ultimate reality for Gerhardt, but it was the cause of constant wonder, and from its strength he took strength.⁹

When he writes du and dein, it is almost impossible to avoid the feeling that he means ich and mein; that he is apostrophizing his own soul. And, paradoxically, that is the whole secret of his Volkstümlichkeit. He makes like-minded people one with himself. He is never more volkstümlich than when he is pouring out his heart alone.¹⁰ Each separate personality in the great company of the faithful is his fellow-

traveller, addressed individually, but always in the spirit of du und ich. That is why, at the end of each of these poems, the plural form enters with such naturalness and ease:

Er weiss dein Leid und heilich Grämen ...
Alle Menschen müssen leiden,
Bis in das Grab ...
Es wird einmal der Tod herspringen
Und aus der Qual uns sätlich bringen.
Gib dich zufrieden.

Gerhardt's Ps. 73 is a psalm version in the true sense. It takes up sixteen 7-line stanzas and follows the text quite closely, but with some telling Gerhardt touches. 11. By comparison with the original, two things strike the reader forcibly: there is no shadow cast by doubt, and the psalmist's 'intimation of immortality' is treated in an almost perfunctory way. The opening sweeps wide. The familiar dein is there, but then straight away comes the unser which is so often held back. 12. The atmosphere of the whole song is one of sure reliance upon God in a present situation. So that Gerhardt's thinking this way and that after a right conclusion is a far less painful process than that through which the psalmist went. The Hebrew writer found his answer by going into the sanctuary of God; one feels that Gerhardt had never left it. With great spiritual courage, he tones down the violence of grief and distress. - It may well be that they will continue as long as I live, but they will not be allowed to overtax my strength, since God is the God of love.

In the meantime, then, I shall possess my soul in quietude. - This capacity to endure to the end is directly related to a constantly renewed act of striving and of praise; his stillness is vibrant and articulate, and it affirms the creative acts of God. 13.

But properly to know what Ps. 73 meant to Gerhardt, it is necessary to set alongside this version the hymn Warum sollt ich mich denn grämen?, 14. for in this he draws only on that part of the psalm which hints at immortality. There is some reason to believe that his understanding of the Psalter differed from that of Luther, who regarded it through and through as a Christian rather than a pre-Christian book. In some part of his mind, Gerhardt seems to have drawn a line between the Psalter and the New Testament; a psalm could prefigure Christ, but never contain him. This would be difficult to prove, but it does perhaps explain certain curious omissions in the psalm versions, as distinct from the original hymns based on verses taken out of their context.

In Ps. 49, for example, he follows Luther's translation in a perfectly straightforward way, and very completely, with two notable exceptions. The psalmist's argument is clear enough: the mere possession of wealth does not imply sin, but pride in riches, and false boasting of the security

they bring, are dangerous attendant evils. Though men may be praised and respected for their wealth, they must all perish like the brute beasts. It is therefore unimportant that they have had more than their fair share of goods; for at the hour of death "no man can buy himself off, nor pay a ransom to God".¹⁵ To the verse which follows, Gerhardt pays no attention whatever: "Denn es kostet zu viel, ihre Seele zu erlösen"; and he likewise passes over this one: "Aber Gott wird meine Seele erlösen aus der Hölle Gewalt". Some commentators express the opinion that both these verses were inserted by copyists at a later date. Whether Gerhardt's critical judgment rejected them as being out of character with the rest of the psalm, or whether he felt that redemption was something beyond the scope and authority of the Psalter, probably lies quite beyond proof.

One thing, however, is certain: Gerhardt was the poet of two worlds and of two realities, the one for ever interpenetrated by the other. In his happiest days in Berlin, he could write a 'Morning Song' which breathes an air of confident activity:

Wach auf, mein Herz, und singe
Dem Schöpfer aller Dinge ...
Von Not bin ich befreiet.

This hymn occupied the first place in Crüger's Praxis pietatis melica of 1648. In such songs, written under the stimu-

lating influence of a lively circle of friends which included Johann Crüger, Gerhardt dedicated his best capabilities to the Creator and Preserver of all men:

Sprich Ja zu meinen Taten ...
Bis ich gen Himmel reise.

And he could write an 'Evening Song' in which his sensitive awareness of the physical world about him was anything but weltflüchtig. As the golden stars stand watch, not only men in their silent towns, and the creatures of wood and field, but the very woods and fields themselves share the rest of a sleeping creation. It is a sad commentary on the sterility of the Aufklärung that it decided to improve on Gerhardt here, possibly because Frederick the Great pronounced Nun ruhen alle Wälder 'stupid stuff'.¹⁶ The hymn was sung to the originally secular melody of O Welt, ich muss dich lassen. When Bach used the tune for these Gerhardt words, he set it very high, in the key of B flat major, so that it sounds quite lighthearted and gay.¹⁷ But then Bach, like Gerhardt, eagerly awaited death; in the Abendlied, all the circumstances of a soft German night are invested with the promise of the breaking light of an eternal dawn. ¹⁸

He could write, too, a 'Song of Summer' which echoes Ps. 104, with its long recital of gifts bestowed by the God of Nature. Gerhardt's delight in them was a sensuous impulse;

Ich selbst kan und mag nicht ruhn,
Des grossen Gottes grosses Tun
Erweckt mir alle Sinnen;
Ich singe mit, wenn alles singt.

But almost in the same breath, with the brightness and the singing still round him, he is comparing the heightened wonder of being removed from it all. It is as if the long shadow of Mount Calvary had suddenly fallen across the German scene, and only beyond the emotional self-surrender of the Passions-Salves could there ever burst the tremendous hallelujah of the seraphim, the order of angels always associated with love. 19. These things are implicit in Gerhardt's transition to the summer of divine grace. 20.

In these songs he was at once true to the faith-in-hope of the psalmists, and to what lay beyond their understanding, but was dimly guessed at by a few. Between their Godliness and his Christliness came all that made Calvary necessary. And this, we may believe, was the real spiritual tension of Gerhardt's century, which Spee and Scheffler resolved by losing themselves in a mysticism of love. And this may well be why, in the original hymnody of Lutherans and Catholics alike, the Psalter came to occupy a less important position. Within Calvinism, a rather special emphasis on the Psalter kept it in focus in a more objective, confessional way, with a correspondingly weaker stress on the expression of personal religious experience. By its historical position

in time, the Psalter was predominantly disseitig. Whereas Luther's capacity for joyfulness could include the joy of battle and the certainty of victory in a life-and-death struggle, the new spirit took its consolation from the historical fact that the only important battle, against death itself, had been won for it. The man of the new age was chiefly concerned with his own relationship to the Conqueror of Death. And the events of the time tended to accentuate this.

Here and there, Gerhardt unobtrusively wrote such events into the Psalter. 21. In Ps. 85 he follows Luther faithfully, until he reaches the section of this 'Golden Age' psalm which takes the form of a divine oracle. These verses he expands and interprets in terms of the war. 22. In Ps. 13, sung to the melody of Ein feste Burg, he inserts a comment which is certainly in the spirit of the psalm, but nowhere in the text. 23. And in Ps. 25 comes the quintessence of his reconciliation with his surroundings:

Gib mir die Einfalt, die dich ehrt
Und lieber duldet als beschwert.

This is exactly the attitude of those psalmists whose insight into the nature of God goes deepest.

Notes:

1. Terry, I, No. 33, Befiehl du deine Wege. Hymn, by Paul Gerhardt, in twelve 8-line stanzas (1653); an acrostic on Luther's Ps. xxxvii, 5. Melody, by (?) Bartholomäus Gesius (1603), originally set to Lobet Gott, unsern Herren.

I, No. 116, Gieb dich zufrieden und sei stille. Hymn, by Paul Gerhardt, in fifteen 7-line stanzas (1666). Melody, by Bach (1725).

2. Cambridge Bible, 187: Hence Tertullian calls the Psalm, providentiae speculum (A mirror of providence), Isidore, potio contra murmur (An antidote to murmuring), Luther, vestis piorum, cui adscriptum: Hic sanctorum patientia est (A garment for the godly, with the inscription, 'Here is the patience of the saints'). Quoting Delitzsch.

3. Edmund Blunden, Report on Experience.

4. Hankamer, 257: Der evangelische Volkmann Luther, der fröhliche Übersetzer der Bibel, der Luther der echten Volkslegende, dieser Luther spricht hier sozusagen in der Mundart des deutschen Barock ... Luther als der gottselige, kindlich-fromme evangelische Christ kommt im Lied Gerhardts zur Sprache.

5. Neue Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 6, 288: Aber schwierige Strophenformen, Binnenreime, das Akrostichon sind so mühelos bewältigt, dass sie, fern aller Virtuosität, völlig selbstverständlich wirken.

6. Wolff, 174 (Nro.20):

Str. 2.

Dem Herren musst du trauen,
Wann dirs soll wohlergehn;
Auf sein Werk musst du schauen,
Wann dein Werk soll bestehn.
Mit Sorgen und mit Grämen
Und mit selbsteigner Pein
Lässt Gott ihm gar nichts nehmen,
Es muss erbeten sein.

7. Str. 11:

Gott giebt dir selbst die Palmen
In deine rechte Hand,
Und du singst Freudenpsalmen
Dem, der dein Leid gewandt.

8. Luther's Bible:

5. Befiehl dem Herrn deine Wege, und hoffe auf ihn; er wird es wohl machen.
6. Und wird deine Gerechtigkeit hervorbringen wie das Licht, und dein Recht wie den Mittag.
7. Sei stille dem Herrn, und warte auf ihn. Erzürne dich nicht über den, dem sein Muthwille glücklich fortgehet.

9, 10. Francke, 284: Auch die Natur, so wenig sie für Paul Gerhardt das Letzte und Höchste ist, ist ihm doch eine immer neue Quelle des Staunens, des Genusses und der inneren Stärkung. Überall sieht er in ihr die Hand Gottes. Immer aber kehrt Paul Gerhardt zu seinem eigenen innersten Verhältnis zum Göttlichen zurück. Er weiss sich eins mit Gleichgesinnten. Er schätzt die Freundschaft ... nie volkstümlicher als da, wo er diese innersten und tiefsten Regungen seines Herzens offenbart.

11. Fischer-Tümpel, III, 364 (Nro. 429):

Str. 4.

Des pöbelvolcks unweiser hauf
Ist auch auf jhrer seite;
Sie sperren maul und nasen auf
Vnd sprechen: das sind leute!
Das sind ohn allen zweifel die,
Die Gott für allen andern hie
Zu kindern ausserkohren.

5.

Was solte doch der grosse GOTT
Nach jenen andern fragen
Die sich mit armut, creutz und noth
Bis in die grube tragen?

Wem hier des glückes gunst un̄ schein
Nicht leuchtet, kan kein Christe seyn:
Er ist gewiss verstossen.

12.

1.

Sey wolgemuth, O Christenseel,
Im hochmuth deiner feinde:
Es hat das rechte Israel
Noch dennoch Gott zum freunde.

Wer gläubt und hofft, der wird geliebt
Von dem, der unsern hertzen gibt
Troest, friede, freud und leben.

13.

11.

Es mag drumb seyn, es währe gleich
Mein creutz, so lang ich lebe:

Ich habe gnug am himmelreich,
Dahin ich täglich strebe.

12.

Du heilest meines hertzen stich
Mit deiner süßen liebe
Vnd wehrst dem unglück, dass es mich
Nicht allzuhooh betrübe.

16.

Indessen wil ich stille ruhn
Vnd deiner weisen hände thun
Mit meinem munde preisen.

14. Terry, II, No. 347. Hymn, by Paul Gerhardt,
in twelve 8-line stanzas (1653). Melody, by Johann G. Ebe-
ling (1666).
(After Crüger's death in 1662, Ebeling took over the publica-
tion of Gerhardt's hymns.)

15. Oesterley, 265. Gerhardt's Ps. 49 is
given in Fischer-Tümpel, III, 365 (Nro. 430).

16. Drummond, 103: In the interests of geo-
graphical accuracy, it was ultimately altered to: "Half the
world is now asleep".

Max. 156 - 157: Über die Nachahmung welt-
licher Lieder Opitzens in der Kirchenlieddichtung scheint
ein Wort am Platze. Dieser Vorgang ist eine Parallelerschei-
nung zu den immer üblichen geistlichen Kontrafakturen, zur
Übernahme weltlicher Liedweisen in das Kirchenlied ... Paul
Gerhardt dichtet die Opitzische weltliche Ode: Jetzund kömpt
die Nacht herbey in das heute noch gern gesungene Kirchen-
lied um.

17. Terry, II, Nos. 300 - 309.
300 - 305: To Paul Gerhardt's O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben.
306 - 308: To Paul Flemming's In allen meinen Thaten.
309: To Gerhardt's Nun ruhen alle Wälder.

18. Kemp, 186:

Str. 2.

Wo bist du Sonne blieben? ...
Fahr hin, ein andre Sonne,
Mein Jesus, meine Wonne,
Gar hell in meinem Herzen scheint.

3.

Die güldnen Sternlein prangen
Am blauen Himmels-Saal:

So, so werd ich auch stehen,
Wann mich wird heissen gehen
Mein Gott aus diesem Jammerthal.

Compare Luther's Bible, Ps. 84 ⁷: Die durch das Jammerthal
gehen, und machen dasselbst Brunnen.
Oesterley, 379 - 380: They pass through the Vale of Balsams;
a fountain they make it.
There is some mystic virtue attached to the pilgrim ...
When, for instance, he passes through a dry valley where
only the balsam tree will grow, ... the face of the land
changes.

19. Kemp, 189:

Ach, denk ich, bist du hier so schön
Und lässt dus uns so lieblich gehn
Auf dieser armen Erden,
Was will doch wol nach dieser Welt
Dort in dem reichen Himmelszelt
Und güldnen Schlosse werden?

Welch hohe Lust, welch heller Schein
Wird wol in Christi Garten sein?
Wie muss es da wol klingen,
Da so viel tausend Seraphim
Mit eingestimmtem Mund und Stimm
Ihr Alleluja singen?

O wär ich da! ...

20. Kemp, 190:

Gieb, dass der Sommer deiner Gnad
In meiner Seelen früh und spat
Viel Glaubensfrucht erziehe.

Erwähle mich zum Paradeis
Und lass mich bis zur letzten Reis
An Leib und Seele grünen.

21. Francke, 281: Nur einmal wird Deutschland
selbst angeredet - in dem Danklied zum Abschluss der Friedens-
verhandlungen. Und doch verdankt Deutschland der Gesinnung,
die in diesem schlichten und aufrechten Manne lebte, einen
Quell gesunder Kraft, neben dem all die grosssprecherischen
Beteuerungen von Vaterlandsliebe und Nationalstolz, an denen
das 17. Jahrhundert so reich war, als kümmerliche Rinnsale
erscheinen.

22. Luther's Bible, Ps. 85⁹: Ach dass ich
hören sollte, dass Gott der Herr redete, dass er Frieden
zusagte seinem Volk und seinen Heiligen, auf dass sie nicht
auf eine Thorheit gerathen.

Fischer-Tümpel, III, 379 (Nro.440):

Str. 5.

Ach dass ich hören solt das wort
Erschallen bald auf Erden,
Dass Friede solt an allem ort,
Wo Christen wohnen, werden!

Ach dass uns doch Gott sagte zu
Des krieges schluss, der waffen ruh
Vnd alles unglücks ende!

6.

Ach dass doch diese böse zeit
Sich stellt in guten tagen,
Damit wir in dem grossen leid
Nicht mögen gantz vertzagen!

Doch ist ja Gottes hülfte nah,
Vñ seine gnade stehet da
All denen, die jhn fürchten.

7.

Wann wir nur fromm sind, wird sich Gott
Schon wieder zu uns wenden,
Den krieg und alle andre noth
Nach wundsch und also enden,

Dass seine ehr in unserm land
Vnd überallle werd erkannt,
Ja stetig bey uns wohne.

23. Fischer-Tümpel, III, 379 (Nro.439):

Str. 5.

Obs gleich bisweilen scheint,
Als wärest du uns feind
Vnd gänzlich abgewenät,
So findt sich doch behend
Dein vaterhertze wieder.

2. CONTEMPORARIES OF GERHARDT

ALBERT CURTZ

1600 - 1671

FOR ALMOST the entire period covered by this study, the hymn and the religious lyric represented some of the noblest achievements of German writers. 1. And by reason of its poetry and its musical associations, the Psalter helped to make this so. Two-thirds of Gerhardt's literary production based upon acknowledged biblical sources, is connected in some way with the Psalter. This in itself suggests a love of the psalm poetry for its own sake. 2. Where the tendency was for the Old Testament to be excluded by the person of Christ, the Baroque transition to a subjective tenderness of feeling was not without its dangers. Some of the verses of Johann Heermann, regarded by many as second only to Gerhardt in the line of great German hymn-writers, illustrate this to an embarrassing degree. There can be no denying the deeply moving character of O Gott, du frommer Gott, or of Herzliebster Jesu. 3. Wo soll ich fliehen hin? has strength and dignity, but to set beside it lines ostensibly referring to Ps. 22, is to receive a rather unpleasant shock. 4. In having recourse to the Psalter, Gerhardt did not stray into any such sentimental excesses; neither did Johann Rist nor Albert Curtz.

Curtz was a Jesuit who wrote chiefly in Latin,

but whose free German versions of the Psalms were enthusiastically received by Catholics and Protestants alike. 5. They reveal a cheerful, hail-fellow-well-met attitude which is as refreshing as it is surprising. His Ps. 150 is particularly merry. 6. About his Ps. 19 there is a spirit of day-to-day busyness; the sun had a regular task to perform, and so had Albert Curtz. 7. This did, of course, include keeping himself free from worldly snares, and only divine grace could help him in that. But though he was quite anxious to get to heaven, he was clearly very interested in brooks, and birds, and spiders as such, using what he had observed of them to demonstrate the difficulties of life here below. 8.

Notes:

1. Robertson, 224: From the Reformation to far into the eighteenth century, the purest expression of German lyric feeling is to be found in the hymn.

Schweitzer, I, 12: At the commencement of the period of decay, when feeling and diction are already becoming super-subtilised, there appears on the scene, as if to check the decline, the king of hymn-writers, Paul Gerhardt.

Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 30, 82: Auf der Höhe seiner Leistungsfähigkeit als Lyriker steht Rist da, wo er sich dem geistlichen Liede zuwendet.

A D B, Vol 23, 547: Neumeister's unbestrittene historische Bedeutung liegt jedoch hauptsächlich auf dem Gebiete des Kirchenliedes und der geistlichen Lyrik.

2. Riemer, 63: - dass man daraufhin von einer spürbaren Liebe vieler Dichter zu den Psalmen sprechen kann.

- wie bei Paul Gerhardt, dass von seinen 39 Nachdichtungen biblischer Stellen 26 nach Psalmen nachgebildet sind.

3. Terry, II, No. 287, O Gott, du frommer

Gott. Hymn, by Johann Heermann, in eight 8-line stanzas (1630). Melody, anonymous (1679), so die Wollet dieser Welt.

Nos. 289, 290: Melody, anonymous

mons (1693).

Terry, I, Nos. 169-172, Herzliebster

Jesu. Was hast du verbrochen? Hymn, by Johann Heermann, in fifteen 4-line stanzas (1630). Melody, by Johann Crdger

(1640).

See also Terry, I, No. 30, Auf meinen

lieben Gott. Hymn (We Gott ich fliehen nicht) by Johann Heermann, in eleven 6-line stanzas (1630). Melody, anonymous

(1609), or secular origin (1574).

4. Luther's Bible, Ps. 22: Ich aber bin

ein Krum und kein Mensch, ein Spott der Leute, und Verachtung des Volke.

Fischer-Tumpel, I, 282 (Nro. 333):

Str. 3.

Ich bin ein Purpur Wurmlein roth,

Welche man zerquetscht bis in den Tod, Dase man den Safft erlangt.

Wol dem, der ihn auffangt!

There are nineteen stanzas of this, through which Heermann paints in every conceivable shade of red. The hymn was to be sung to the melody of Bessenestein's De Jesus an dem Kreuze stund.

5. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 4,

654: Harpfen Davids. Mit Teutschen Saiten bespannt. Augsburg, 1659. Von einem aus der Societät Jesu.

Julian, 1547, Roman Catholic Versions:

In the preface it is said to be for the use of the Austrian, Bavarian, and Swabian ladies. The colophon describes it as "by one of the Society of Jesus".

6. Kemp, 196:

Kristliches Kind

Der 150. Psalm

Laas Posanen und Ragoten

Spielen mit den schwarzen Noten

Und die krummgehalste Geigen
Gross und kleine auch nit schweigen ...
Misch bei jedem Chor die Singer,
Lass die schnell-berichte Finger
Auf dem Saiten-Feld rum fahren,
Nimm die Lauten bei den Haaren, ...
Alles was nur Geist und Leben,
Solle sein Tribut hergeben,
Hie daranden und dort oben
Allzeit Gott den Herren loben.

7. Kemp, 192:

Himmel - und Herzen-Sonn
Der achtzehende Psalm

(The Vulgate numbering affects all the psalms given by Kemp, except the last).

Ps. 19.

Sie lauft als wie ein frischer Held,
Tuet mit ein Sprung die ganze Welt
In einem Tag durchziehen ...
Die Sonnen ist des Himmels Ehr,
Aber dein Gsatz, Herr, noch viel mehr ...
Mir tuet dein Gsatz belieben;
Darinnen will ich mich allzeit,
Bis du mir lohnst in jener Freud,
Ganz treu und fleissig üben,
Ich will zwar treu und fleissig sein,
Doch wer sieht in das Herz hinein
Und kann sich selbst durchgründen?

8. Kemp, 195:

Vogel - Freiheit
Der 123. Psalm

Ps. 124.

Nun, o Herr, es ist geraten,
Wir seind durch den Bach gewaten.
Wollen drum sein Namen loben,
Der d'Hilf weiter nit verschoben,
Wie die Spätzlein froh froh quicken,
Wann sie los seind von den Stricken.

Kemp, 194:

Ps. 39.

Wie schwer, wie stark ist diese Hand,
Ich kann ihr nit entrinnen;
Ich gib mich drein. Wie an der Wand
Die arbeitsame Spinnen

Ihr selbst den Strick und Irrgang spinnt
Und sich verzehrt mit Weben,
Gleich also zettlet an die Sünd
Alls Ach und Weh im Leben ...
Bei dieser schweren Pilgerfahrt
Erquick, o Herr, mein Leiden,
Bis dass ich nach so langer Wart
Von hier zu dir mög scheiden.

JOHANN RIST

1607 - 1667

Altogether, Rist wrote more than six hundred sacred lyrics, and the quality of his psalm-verses is certainly equal to that of other songs surviving in the hymn-books to which J.S. Bach had access. The fact that none of the handful of hymns used by Bach appears to have been connected, even indirectly, with the Psalter, would suggest that the Psalms themselves were losing their hold over German religious thought. Bach himself was most strongly attracted by the mystic symbolism given to the Song of Songs. He discovered more in Nicolai and Franck than he did in Rist, except where Rist's thought showed the same mystische Färbung.¹.

It would be simple enough to point to passages of careless verse-writing in Ein herrlicher Lobpsalm Gottes, but it would be a big mistake to dismiss it as a hotch-potch of ideas lifted at random from all over the Psal-

ter. To identify each and every one of these allusions would be a long task and, apart from its academic interest, one which would prove little beyond the fact that Rist was enjoying himself immensely. In the last analysis, the poem is a psalm written by Rist; not a version, not a Christian meditation on the Psalms, but a psalm, wholly Old-Testament in character.

Two attributes of God, his omnipotence and his compassion, are the theme of Rist's act of praise - he made the heavens, he stills the raging of the sea; Nature's God is a strong God. Happy the people remaining under his protection, for to such a people this all-powerful God of Nature and of History is merciful and kind. And he has long been 'our' God, fighting 'our' battles. - Then, as evidence of Yahweh's loving provision for his people, Rist dwells briefly on the springs and brooks so dear to the heart of a Hebrew in a dry and thirsty land, before returning to the more spectacular manifestations of God's majesty. And here his purpose is an appeal to all the nations on earth to join, not only with thankfulness but with fear as well, in a universal act of worship:

Denn seine Güte und Treue
Ist alle Morgen neu. 2.

Such wholesome respect for the Almighty, joined with a trust in his mercy, is an ancient element in religion

which is too often set aside. And surely this is what Riemer means by the Philosemitismus of the German Baroque? The same awareness of Hebrew attitudes is brought out very clearly in Gerhardt's hymn on Ps. 34, Ich will erhöhen immerfort. The psalm is an Individual Song of Thanksgiving in two parts, the first a song of gratitude for deliverance from fear, the second a Wisdom-poetry instruction on how such gratitude should be shown in the conduct of everyday life. What puts the psalmist and Gerhardt in such perfect sympathy with one another is this: each writes out of his own personal experience, which is then immediately shared. "Preiset mit mir den Herrn, und lasset uns mit einander seinen Namen erhöhen", says the one. "Ich hab es selbst erfahren", says the other. "Wer Gott liebt, stimme mit mir ein". All the way through, Gerhardt stays beside the psalmist. The christological aspect is here and there implied, but never expressed.

3.

With Rist, such Philosemitismus is the exception rather than the rule. When he takes as his theme verse nine of the same psalm, "Schmecket und sehet, wie freundlich der Herr ist", the sensuous delight of Gerhardt's version, so like the real Song of Songs, 4. becomes the soul-music of the mystical Song of Songs. Rist does seem to have possessed a genuine penitential humility. The whole tenor of this hymn is the spiritualization of life, the seeking of freedom

from sin by dissociating oneself from the world. The divine condescension becomes a daily renewed reality of experience. Beside the joy of receiving the heavenly guest, nothing that the world can offer possesses any worth.5.

Rist's hymn on the opening lines of Ps. 104 is of its kind very fine indeed; a Fischer-Tümpel footnote draws attention to it as one of the poet's best. Rist wanted it sung to the Crüger melody of his own earlier hymn, Gott, der du selber bist das Licht. 6. The development in the later writing is entirely unexpected, and the poem may be regarded as an outstanding example of the most successful type of Erbauungslied. It begins with expressions of wonder at the ineffable splendour of the Creator. Then suddenly Rist's sense of sinfulness and inadequacy makes him feel that he has sullied the very beauty of God.7. But the mediation of the descended Son of God, his assumption of human form and nature, has raised Man to the realm of perfect beauty, at which the marvels of Nature can merely hint. Only 'in that life' shall we understand the meaning of our own likeness to the Creator, when our transfigured bodies are shining like the sun, and we are as the cherubim. 8.

With a good many judgments passed on the psalm-poetry of the period, it is just not possible to agree. 9. And Rist draws perhaps more ungenerous criticism than others.

Admittedly, many psalm versions were drearily made, but by no means all, and to condemn the ancient material because of unimaginative handling of it, is scarcely reasonable. It is true that only about one song in every hundred written by Rist found its way into the hymn-books. We must agree with Schweitzer, that he wrote far too much. But a further consideration needs to be taken into account. Both Gerhardt and Rist wrote hymns intended originally for private devotions rather than for public worship. This bias away from confessional writing for the congregation had its musical equivalent, the growing influence on sacred song of the secular aria. With neither of these poets did the singing ever become fully choral, in spite of the cherubim and seraphim. 10.

Notes: 1. Terry, I, No. 199, Jesu, der du meine Seele. Hymn, by Johann Rist, in twelve 8-line stanzas (1641). Melody, anonymous, of secular origin (1642).

Str. 12.

Herr! ich glaube; hilf mir Schwachen ...
Bis ich fröhlich werde schauen
Dich, Herr Jesu, nach dem Streit,
In der süßen Ewigkeit.

Even the celebrated O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort, finishes in the same strain:

Nimm du mich, wenn es dir gefällt,
Herr Jesu, in dein Freudenzelt.

2. Fischer-Tümpel, II, 206 (Nro. 208):

Str. 2, 4, 6.

Wer ist so starck wie du? ... Dein'
Hand

Str. 7.

Ist stark und mächtig ... Nun bist du
ihre Stärke, Du Held in Israel.

Du bist von langen Zeiten
Doch unser Fürst' und Gott.
Du pflegst für uns zu streiten,
Du starker Zebaoth.

Str. 12. 14.

Ihr Vöcker, kompt mit Springen,
Kompt her in gutem Fried
Und helfft dem Herren singen
Ein köstliches Lobe-Lied ...

Ihr Vöcker kompt getreten
Den Herren anzubeten.
Es fürcht ihn alle Welt,
Den grossen Wunder-Heldt.

Str. 2. 6.

3. F/T, III, 350 (Nro. 418):

So bald ein ach im himmel klingt,
Kömmt heyl und was uns freude bringt,
Vom himmel abgefahren ...
Wer GOTT vertraut, bleibt reich und kan
Die ewgen schätz ererben.

4.

4. Ach was ist das für süssigkeit!
Ach schmecket alle, die ihr seyd
Mit sinnen wol begabet.
Kein honig ist mehr auf der erd
Hinfert des süssen namens wehrt:
Gott ists, der uns recht labet.

7.

Ergebet euch und euren sinn
Zu Gottes wolgefallen hin
In allen euren tagen.

Str. 3.

5. F/T, II, 315 (Nro. 300):

Wie sol ich aber als ein Knecht,
Der seines Herren Willen
Zwar weis, doch nicht erfüllet recht,
Mein Seelichen hie stillen? ...

4.

Demnach ich so viel Schmertzen
Von wegen meiner Missetaht,

Die mich sehr hart beschwehret hat,
Muss Tag und Nacht er leiden,
Auch allen Trost itz meiden.

6.

Ich wil, so viel ich immer kan,
Mit Ihm ein Geist auch werden.
Ich bin doch gäntzlich itz bedacht,
Der Welt zu geben gute Nacht,
Nur Gott mich zu gelassen,
Die Wollust stets zu hassen.

7.

Wen Welt und Wollust gehn heraus,
Alsdan bezieht mit Freuden
Der Schöpfer Seiner Seelen Haus,
Schnel mus das Eitle scheiden.
Die stille Seel' ist rein und frei ...

8.

Der fromme Gott, der täglich noch
Vom Trohn des Himmels steigt
Und senket Sich in unsre Seel' ...

10.

Hinweg, O Welt, mit deiner Pracht,
Hinweg mit deinen Schätzen!
Mein Jesus, der mich freudig macht,
Der kan mich recht ergetzen.

6. Terry, I, No. 117, Gott, der du selber
bist das Licht. Hymn, by Johann Rist, in fifteen 8-line
stanzas (1641). Melody, by Johann Crüger (1648).

7. Fischer-Tümpel, II, 317 (Nro. 302):

Str. 4.

O schönster Gott, O theurster Schatz,
Das noch die Sünd' in mir auch Platz
Durch Satans List kan haben,
HErr, das betrübt mich dergestalt,
Das ich schier wolte mit Gewalt
Mein eignes Hertz durchgraben.
Sol Deiner Schönheit güldner Schein
Durch solchen Koht beschmitzet sein?

8.

10.

Ach Gott, wie werden wir so schön
In jenem Leben für Ihm stehn,
Wen nunmehr ist erschienen,
Dass wir dem Schöpfer Ähnlich sind,
Schön, mächtig, heilig, starck, geschwind
Und gleich den Cherubinen!

9. Francke, 289 - 290, on Rist: Vor allem aber versorgt er das christliche Haus unablässig mit geistlichen Liedern, in denen die Grundlehren der evangelischen Kirche und die vornehmsten Gedenktage und Zeremonien des Kirchenjahres in sentimental erbaulicher Weise besungen werden. Dass gerade diese, jedes starken persönlichen Gefühls entbehrenden Erbauungslieder die grösste Verbreitung gefunden und Tausenden und Abertausenden Trost und Ermutigung in schwerer Drangsal gebracht haben, zeigt uns die Zermürbtheit und Hilfsbedürftigkeit des deutschen Bürgertums in und nach dem grossen Kriege in grellem Lichte.

Hankamer, 257: Der tote didaktische Stoff wird durch kaum einen herzhaften Ton lebendig gemacht. Die Lehre ist abstrakt und lebensleer, und nur wo das Thema sich an den Todesgedanken entzünden kann, kommt ein religiöses Lehrpathos zustande.

Riemer, 63, Note 85: Ob man allerdings mit Recht sagen kann, dass in "den Psalmen die hochbarocke Liederdichtung ihre Gottesvorstellung gefunden hat, dass der alttestamentliche Gott des Ornaments die dämonische Gottesvorstellung des Hochbarock bestimmt hat" (Berger), scheint mir fraglich zu sein. (Questionable indeed!)

10. Blume, 159-160: Das Zurücktreten der Choralbearbeitung jedoch in der Zeit etwa von 1620 bis 1670, das bei den meisten Komponisten zu beobachten ist, erweist symptomatisch, wie weit die Brücken abgebrochen waren ... Die neue Liedschöpfung steht zum überwiegenden Teil weit eher auf seiten der Kunstmusik als des Gemeindegesangs. Überdies setzen sich auch in ihr die beiden Grundrichtungen des Zeitalters auseinander, die mystische und die orthodoxe, und sie haben in zwei gleichaltrigen Persönlichkeiten ihren Ausdruck gefunden, bevor die eine Richtung ganz im Pietismus aufging, die andere in einen erstarrten Spätorthodoxismus mündete, in J. Rist und Paul Gerhardt ... Die meisten Lieder werden zu vorhandenen Melodien gedichtet. Aber seit sich auch für das geistliche Lied der neue Typus der "Aria" d.h. des generalbassbegleiteten Sololiedes ... mit oder ohne instrumentale Ritornelle durchgesetzt hat, wächst auch der

Melodienbestand kräftig an. Auch in diesem Vorgang kommt sowohl Rist wie Gerhardt eine wichtige Funktion zu; beide haben mit Musikern zusammengearbeitet und sie ... unmittelbar zur Liedvertonung angeregt.

JOHANN FRANCK

1618 - 1677

Both Gerhardt and Rist suffered as a result of the Thirty Years' War, but their reactions were different. Gerhardt's adherence to the orthodox Lutheranism of Wittenberg prevented his acceptance of conciliatory terms, and preserved in him a singleness of mind denied to Rist, whose views were always friedfertig. Whereas Gerhardt's faith and purpose never wavered under pressure, Rist fell into despair. 'Virtuosity of personality' and a too-wide versatility no doubt contributed to this; in the end he became "masslos gespreizt", encouraged in far-fetched affectations by the tastes of the academies to which he belonged, and denying his own true bent. 1.

Johann Franck too, a lawyer of Guben in Brandenburg, erred in this respect. His secular writings became "more and more affected and artificial, long-winded and full of classical allusions, and much inferior to those of Daech or Opitz". 2. But in his hymns he created something of lasting worth and often of considerable beauty. A personal

Christuswinne characterizes Jesu, meine Freude, and Schadecke dich, O liebe Seele, both lovingly treated by Bach. 3. Associated with this in Du, o schönes Weltgebäude, and Ihr Gestirn, ihr hohlen Lüfte, 4. is a Nature-consciousness which creates its own tensions. Rist's feeling for the beauty of Nature is more utilitarian, more confined to small things, 5. and it does not interfere with his spiritual withdrawal. In Franck there is discernible a sense of the bigness of things which is almost too much for him; within the diminutive of his "allerschönstes Jesulein" is concentrated all the limitless energy of worlds beyond worlds. 6.

Another feature of Franck's hymns is their closeness to the spirit of the penitential psalms. Although he does not acknowledge any indebtedness to Ps. 51, it was obviously in his mind at the conclusion of Herr, ich habe missgehandelt. 7. Fear of the anger of God is a part of his contrition, and possibly Berger had such lines in mind, alongside Rist's O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort, when he took this to be the predominant idea of God amongst the men of the Baroque:

Ich bin nicht den Weg gewandelt,
Den du mir gezeigt hast;
Und jetzt wollt ich gern aus Schrecken
Mich vor deinem Zorn verstecken. 8.

The stanza which follows this holds a surprise, though the sequence of thought is logical enough. Franck leaps without any warning to Ps. 139, and it is his awareness

of the immensity of Nature's realm, amounting almost to reverential fear, which gives point to his Old-Testament reference in a hymn concerned with the redeeming love of the Crucified. 9. "For the conceptions regarding the Divine Nature, the omniscience and the omnipresence of God, this psalm stands out as the greatest gem in the Psalter, ... beyond anything that had heretofore existed in Israel ... The stress which the psalmist lays on the Personality of God shows that he is far from holding any pantheistic conception, after the manner of Greek speculation." 10. This God of majesty and awe, all-knowing and everywhere present, is the psalmist's maker and helper, not a wrathful God dispensing punishments. And in its christological application, this fear-free hope of the Hebrew writer is Franck's last word as well:

Dir will ich die Last aufbinden ...
Lass dein guten Geist mich treiben,
Ewig stets bei dir zu bleiben.

The only complete edition of Franck's hymns appeared in 1674, in a collection called Geistliche und weltliche Gedichte, bestehende im geistlichen Sion und irdischen Helicon. Out of a total of one hundred and ten hymns, fifty-three were psalm versions, 'of no great merit', according to Julian. And of these versions some at least had been written long before, round about 1640. It would be interesting to know to what extent the early religious life of a poet like Franck had been nourished by the Psalter. That it attracted

him sufficiently to warrant the making of lengthy versions which followed the full text, is evidence that the ancient lyrics had held a secure place in his affections, though it can hardly be denied that their influence as literary models was declining. Gerhardt's best work, when he drew upon the Psalter, was in original hymns for which a specific psalm passage provided a theme. And so with Franck. But even in some of his full versions, the variety of language and the individual treatment of the text have a certain freshness and appeal.

His Ps. 51, 'the great Penitential', is a case in point. It takes up eight 8-line stanzas, in which Franck allows himself room to move about. One addition which he makes to the text is of particular interest, a reference to the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram against Moses and Aaron in the wilderness. The story is given at some length in the Book of Numbers, and is mentioned also in Ps. 106, one of the psalms recounting Israel's troubled history:

"They angered Moses also in the tents: and Aaron the saint of the Lord.

So the earth opened, and swallowed up Dathan: and covered the congregation of Abiram.

And the fire was kindled in their company: the flame burnt up the ungodly." 11.

Whatever made Franck think of that, in the middle of Ps.51 ? 12. And there are other passages which throw light on his reading of the psalm. Their presence is an indication that he was engaged on no mere versification of a text. The text imposed certain limitations, but it would be quite ridiculous to say that he was churning out 'dead, didactic material' for mass consumption and edification. 13.

Notes: 1. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol.30 81: - Als allzuviel Unheil sich auf sein Haupt zusammenzog, begann er trotz seiner Gläubigkeit zu verzweifeln; auch nach Wiederherstellung des Friedens konnte er nie wieder die ungebrochene Kraft von ehemals erlangen.

- Alle litterarischen Strömungen jener Zeit spiegeln sich in seinem Schaffen wieder ... und auch an ihm wiederholt sich die damals so häufige tragische Erscheinung, dass grosse Begabung an der Vielschreiberei, am Mangel künstlerischer Bildung und wahlloser Abhängigkeit von fremden Mustern scheiterte.

Blume, 160: Hinter Rists oft gesuchter Sprache und oft scheinbar hohlem Wortgepränge verbirgt sich ekstatische Erregung; in der Eleganz der Verse und ihrer selbstgefällig wirkenden Breite zeigt er sich als einen "Virtuosen der Persönlichkeit" (Nelle). Die Hervorkehrung des Ich, das Sichverbreiten im Affekthaften, die Ausmalung seelischer Not ... dies alles in der geschliffenen Versatilität des Weltmannes vorgetragen, das ist Rist.

2. Julian, 386.

3. Terry, I, Nos. 208 and 210-214, Jesu, meine Freude. Hymn, by Johann Franck, in six 10-line stanzas (1653). Melody, by Johann Crüger (1653).

No. 209, Selig ist die Seele. Hymn, by Heinrich Müller, in nine 10-line stanzas (1659).

II, No. 314, Schmücke dich, O liebe Seele. Hymn, by Johann Franck, in nine 8-line stanzas (1649 & 1653). Melody, by Johann Crüger, (1649).

Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 7, 212: Während seine weltliche Lyrik, überladen mit humanistischer Gelehrsamkeit, in der Opitznachfolge steckenblieb, gelang ihm in der geistlichen Lyrik ein eigener, bildhaft - dynamischer Ton. Da für ihn die Poesie "Säugamme der Frömmigkeit" war, schuf er als tief Gläubiger zeitüberdauernde Lieder wie Jesh. meine Freude. Die besten von ihnen reichen nahe an die des ihm befreundeten P. Gerhardt heran und sind u.a. von Johann Crüger komponiert.

4. Terry, I, Nos. 74 - 75, Du, O schönes Weltgebäude. Hymn, by Johann Franck, in eight 8-line stanzas (1653). Melody, by Johann Crüger (1649).

I, No. 191, Ihr Gestirn, ihr hohlen Lüfte. Hymn, by Johann Franck, in nine 6-line stanzas (1655). Melody, by Christoph Peter (1655).

5. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 30, 80 (on Rist): Er stellte sein Leben in den Dienst der dem ganzen 17. Jahrhundert eigenen Naturempfindung, die die Freude am Schönen in der Natur nicht vom Utilitätsstandpunkte trennen konnte.

Francke, 289: So tritt uns der zarte Natursinn des Norddeutschen und seine Freude am Kleinen deutlich vor Augen.

6. Du, O schönes Weltgebäude
Magst gefallen, wem du willst ...
Mir verlangt nach dir allein,
Allerschönstes Jesulein! (Terry)

Ihr Gestirn, ihr hohlen Lüfte:

Str. 5.

Bethlehem, uns wundert alle,
Wie es immer zu mag gehn,
Dass in deinem kleinen Stalle
Kann der ganze Himmel stehn.
Hat denn nun der Sterne Menge
Raum in einer solchen Enge? (Terry)

7. Wasche mich von meinen Sünden,
Mache mich so weiss wie Schnee.

Luther's Bible, Ps. 51⁴: Wasche mich wohl von meiner Missethat, und reinige mich von meiner Sünde ... wasche mich, dass ich schneeweiss werde.

8. Terry, I, Noe. 140 - 141, Herr, ich habe missgehandelt. Hymn, by Johann Franck in eight 6-line stanzas, (1649). Melody, by Johann Crüger (1649).

9. Luther's Bible, Ps. 139:

7. Wo soll ich hingehen vor deinem Geist? Und wo soll ich hinfliehen vor deinem Angesicht?

8. Führe ich gen Himmel, so bist du da. Bettete ich mir in die Hölle, siehe, so bist du auch da.

9. Nähme ich Flügel der Morgenröthe, und bliebe am äussersten Meer,

10. So würde mich doch deine Hand daselbst führen, und deine Rechte mich halten.

Str. 2.

Doch, wie könnt ich dir entfliehen?
Du wirst allenthalben sein.
Wollt ich über See gleich ziehen,
Stieg ich in die Gruft hinein,
Hätt ich Flügel gleich den Winden:
Gleichwohl würdest du mich finden. (Terry)

10. Oesterley, 553 and 555.

11. Common Prayer, Ps. 106 16-18.

12. Fischer-Tümpel, IV, 67 (Nro. 77):

Str. 3.

Für dir allein, Herr, hab' ich missge-
than;
Drumb, wenn du mich gleich noch so hefftig
straffest,
Wenn du mich gar wie Abiram wegraffest,
So handelstu dennoch gar recht daran.

13. Oesterley, 271: The contention of some commentators that the psalmist is speaking not as an individual, but in the name of the community, can only be described as fantastic; the personal note sounded all through the psalm ... should make it abundantly clear that the whole psalm is the outpouring of an individual in reference to himself.

ANDREAS GRYPHIUS

1616 - 1664

The most discerning writers of the seventeenth century, those who were really most deeply concerned with German humanity, were perhaps least influenced by Germany's social patterns.¹ They were devout individualists, looking for a meaning in life. For Gryphius, whose personality was determined by a capacity for mental suffering, the type of the martyr became a kind of religious ideal. Germany's immolation was part of the burden of his sorrow and, at the end of 1648, while most people were still singing Nun danket alle Gott, he wrote:

Zeuch hin, betrübtas Jahr! ...
Und führe mit dir weg die Last von diesen
Herzen! ...
Herr! es ist genug geschlagen. 2.

If ever a man had the right to say, with the poet of Ps. 94, "Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis in meinem Herzen", it was Andreas Gryphius. But he was also entitled to add, like the psalmist, "aber deine Tröstungen ergötzen meine Seele".

In his introduction to the Fourth Book of Odes, Gryphius cites the instance of a certain 'admirable man' who, shortly before his death, desired that all his papers and poems should be burned, except those dealing with divine matters.³ What he had to say here reflects as clearly as anything could the attitude of Gryphius himself to the writer's

function. Bach's approach to every musical problem was the same. And when Gervinus says of Gryphius that he had more poetry in one finger than Opitz had in the whole of his body, we may reasonably assume that the religious import of his lyric is meant. "For those who sow in tears here, he points the way to heaven and the joys of eternity; there is compensation for the sufferings of this present time."⁴.

Such a reference to Ps. 126 is natural enough, since Gryphius treated the psalm in two separate odes, 5. as if it somehow explained the gap fixed between the sorrows of the heart and the comforts of the soul; the sorrows inseparable from being confined within this Jammertal of mortality, and the spiritual consolation in the promise of immortality. Something in Gryphius could be ecstatically happy, but nowhere does his spiritual joy seem to have relieved the sadness of his earthly journey:

Was sind wir Menschen doch? Ein Wohnhaus
grüner Schmerzen,
Ein Ball des falschen Glücks, ein Irrlicht
dieser Zeit.
Du siehst, wohin du siehst, nur Eitelkeit
auf Erden. 6.

Imagine Luther's ever calling himself a will-o'-the-wisp of time! Such is the almost insuperable difficulty of understanding Gryphius, whose confessional background, like Gerhardt's, was orthodox Lutheranism.

Yet a similar difficulty exists in Ps. 126,

and in other psalms of which Gryphius made use. He evidently regarded Israel's bondage in Egypt and captivity in Babylon as symbolic of all human life. He made a quite straightforward version of Ps. 114 (In exitu Israel), 7. in which he reproduced with Baroque flourishes the psalmist's exaggerated account of Nature's responses to the marvellous act of liberation from Egypt. And he based an ode on the final verse of Ps. 14 (53). 8.

In this, the strophe begins (rather inappropriately) with his favourite figure of a ship in trouble on a lee shore. God's chosen people are in the same mortal distress as mariners powerless to save their vessel or themselves. Rescue lies only with him who can break the hold of circumstances. But then, in the antistrophe, it is made clear that God himself has placed his elect in this situation. A word from him, and they could be free, free to serve their deliverer instead of foreign masters. Between antistrophe and epode, there is a hiatus in the thought. The tears of the people are suddenly tears of joy, for the day of their redemption from servitude is breaking. And instantaneously the first person singular makes its appearance: "Then farewell, Babylon. Now I am not a captive." 9.

This juxtaposition of 'we' and 'I' occurs in the Psalter also, sometimes in the selfsame verse, making

the writer's exact intention hard to grasp. Gryphius mentions the fatherland, but it is not easy to think that he is here speaking for anybody but himself. He calls on the stars to celebrate his freedom, and on the hills and valleys and woods which have borne witness to his suffering. In a kind of prophetic, visionary repatriation which is half dream and half waking, hope becomes sweet to the point of pain, but ultimate joy still waits beyond, in some future change of place and condition. 10.

Now neither Ps. 14 (53) nor Ps. 126 deals with the end of an exile as such, but with the return of a mysterious 'Golden Age', believed to be near. "The supreme glory and central significance of this renovation of the earth is that it will be inaugurated by the coming of Yahweh himself." 11. The return from the Babylonian captivity was something very different: drought and the failure of crops, dying flocks and herds, general want and discontent, with Jerusalem as the centre of Israel's religious life still lying in ruins, and no heart left in the people to begin the rebuilding of the Temple. The scene is just as desolate as that of the Trauerklage des verwüsteten Deutschlands. Hope is no longer the chance to make a new start, but a waiting for God to intervene, and restore things to a state of perpetual bliss. In its christological interpretation, this means only one thing: waiting for heaven and the joys of eternity.

In the ode Qui seminant in lacrimis, 12.

Gryphius piles on the anguish of the sowers. They are faint-hearted, barefooted and bleeding, as they stumble against the stones and the thistles. And he asks: What sort of seed are they sowing, in ground which needs to be watered with a rain of tears? In the second strophe comes the inevitable simile, as they whimper in pain, and cry out words which die on their lips: "wie wenn ein Schiff sich scheitert an die Klippen." In the second antistrophe, the consolation follows: "Doch seid getrost!" In place of the rest of the ode, we might almost substitute passages from Luther's Gospel according to John. 13.

The formidable problems of the second ode on Ps. 126, 14. a paraphrase of the Latin, are present in the psalm itself. In the Prayer Book version, it begins: "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Sion, then were we like unto them that dream." Ronald Knox, working from the Latin of the Pontifical Biblical Institute text, writes: "When the Lord gave back Sion her banished sons, we walked like men in a dream." Luther's Bible has: "Wenn der Herr die Gefangenen Zions erlösen wird, so werden wir sein wie die Träumende." Luther's future tense agrees with Oesterley's 'we shall be'. "The fact is that this psalm must be interpreted in precisely the same way as Ps. 85. Evil times have fallen upon the people, but the psalmist seeks to raise their

spirits by prophesying the near approach of the restoration of all things, the return of the 'Golden Age', so often foretold by the prophets". 15.

Gryphius quickly moves into the present tense. Outside observers say to one another: Is this the humiliated Zion we knew? Those who were beyond the point of tears, reduced to dull longing, are laughing and singing so that the hills resound with it. Their God has done great things for them. - Now if the psalm is taken as referring to the return from Babylon, it here contradicts itself: "Turn our captivity, O Lord, as the rivers in the south." Against the verse Verte, Domine, sortem nostram, sicut torrentes in terra australi, Knox inserts a note, to the effect that some commentators think of the opening of the psalm not as something which had actually happened, but as an imaginary picture. Oesterley translates: "Bring back, Yahweh, our restoration as streams in the Negeb."

Gryphius, having already spoken of Zion as God's free child, now makes her beseech the Lord to save what is bound by the still strong fetters of sorrow. 16. Like a rushing of streams in the burning south, "this will revive thy child." So that, after all, the present tense of joy is an illusion, just as it was in Ps. 14. 17. Then, in the manner of the Erbaungelied, comes a statement of belief: the sorrowful will not always be left mourning; at last they

must rejoice. And the ode ends with music, a burst of singing in the fields, as the full-eared sheaves are brought in by those who were earth's captives sowing in tears. 18.

It may appear misleading to say that the joy which asserts itself in these psalm odes of Gryphius is an illusion. But some of the richest effects of the Baroque were deliberately illusionistic; particularly in architecture, when masses of complex form detail were sometimes lit up only by a brightness beating down from above. The lustre of a supermundane world was simulated, in order to give the worshipping soul a glimpse of heaven, through a representation by which it might determine its own relationship to the holy. 19. "Weltschmerz is still a catchword to the poet of the seventeenth century - except for Gryphius." 20. The Welt-schmerz of Gryphius is made authentic by the intensity of the light that penetrates it, and the illusion is the ultimate reality.

The impression that he was resolutely determined to be miserable grows with every reading of the sonnets and the odes. His attitude to living seems to have been conditioned by the tragedy of early events. Even the figure of the foundering ship, repeated to the point of monotony and often in unsuitable contexts, most likely derives from the personal experience of a similar danger. 21. Most people get over such things with the passing of time, but not so

Gryphius. His Weltschmerz was himself, and this makes it all the more important to discover the meaning of joy for him. Two odes based on Ps. 116 have special significance here: Sei nun wieder zufrieden, meine Seele, and Tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis: 22.

Mein Schmerz wird nunmehr ja zum Scherz
In diesen Freudenzeiten.

Herr! dass ich dich kann grüssen
Mit Jauchzen, Herr, das machst du, meine
Sonne!

Gryphius was honest enough with himself to admit that there were things which he did not understand, 23. and it is scarcely open to doubt that this very honesty fostered in him the Vanitasgedanke of Ecclesiastes. The world of Nature did not help him much; it was abstract, a starting-point for ideas, and a source of numerous similes on trouble. 24. One can sense the presence of philosophic dissatisfaction at not understanding. Had Gryphius been born a century later, he would have found it so much easier to be sure! But truth for him was still to be found in religious orthodoxy. And Lutheranism had lost Luther's will to achieve, just as the world of Ecclesiastes had lost the virility of Hebrew optimism. 25. Once, faith had been an aspiring fire; now, it was the soul's response to a white light streaming down.

Perhaps the very best in the spiritual lyric of Gryphius is to be found in the Tibi sacrificabo, in a

passage which parallels idea for idea Scheffler's wonderful Liebe, dir ergeb' ich mich, 26. As in Sei nun wieder zufried-
en, the knowledge of Christ's dominion over death, and of
the love by which Gryph has been upheld, is the one thing
that puts firmness and decision into his step, as he walks
towards eternity. 27. From this knowledge wells a definite
and courageous declaration of faith, an act of praise made
before the great congregation of all men. 28.

Notes:

1. Hankamer, 132: - und die Ungesellschaft-
lichen sagten noch das Beste: Fleming, Gryphius und Grim-
melshausen.

2. Kemp, 216, Schluss des 1648 sten Jahres.

3. Szyrocki, II, 101: Denn die Betrachtung
der Geheimnüss dess Höchsten erquicket vns in Schwermuth /
vnd begleitet / wenn wir von allem verlassen werden: Was
man der Welt zu Ehren schreibet / das vergehet mit der Welt /
vnd beschwärtzet oft die Finger vnd Gewissen derer / die
damit bemühet.

4. Palm, III, Vorwort, 1 and 7: Das urteil
von Gervinus über Gryphius: "von Andreas Gryphius ist ein
finger poetischer, als der ganze Opitz", bezieht sich nicht
zum geringsten teil auf seine lyrik.

Auf den himmel, auf die freuden der ewig-
keit weist er die hier in thränen säenden hin, dort ist er-
satz für die leiden dieser Zeit.

5. Szyrocki, II, 6: Book I, Ode III,
Qui seminant in lacrumis.

51: Book II, Ode VIII,
Paraphrasis Psalmi CXXV. juxta latinos (Vulgate numbering).

Max, 125, on Opitz: Seine Psalmenarbeit, wie alle seine geistlichen Werke, sind keine Bekenntnis-dichtung ... Ein Grösserer, Andreas Gryphius erst, wagte auf Opitz fussend eine höhere bis dahin unbekannte Art der Psalmenumschreibung. Er machte freie und weit ausschweifende Paraphrasen einzelner Verse und gab damit der Epoche eine grössere Form für geistliche Kunstdichtung.

6. Kemp, 210: Menschliches Elende and Es ist alles eitel.

7. Palm, III, 473: Übersetzte Lobgesänge,
XVII.

8. Luther's Bible, Ps. 14⁷: Ach, dass die Hülfe aus Zion über Israel käme, und der Herr sein gefangen Volk erlösete! So würde Jakob fröhlich sein, und Israel sich freuen.

9. Szyrocki, II, 46: Book II, Ode VI.
Ich schaw / ach! ach / der Tag bricht
an!

Vnd die herbe Nacht verschwindet /
Der Tag der vnss ergetzen kan /
Der die schwere band' entbindet.
Ade nun Babilon. Itzt bin ich nicht
gefangen.

10. Ach nein! mir traumt ach nein ich
wache!
O alzu süsser wahn! Was bild' ich mir doch
eyn?
Ich fühle ja dass ich noch muss in
schmertzen seyn
Ach / kan die Hoffnung mich so ohne mass'
ergetzen!
Wie fröhlich werd' ich seyn / wenn GOTT mich
wird entsetzen.

11. Oesterley, 92.

12. Szyrocki, II, 6: Was seh' ich dort für
Schmertzen volle hauffen?

13. Ev. Johannis 12²⁴⁻²⁵: Wahrlich, wahrlich,
ich sage euch: Es sei denn, dass das Weizenkorn in die Erde
falle, und ersterbe, so bleibt es allein; wo es aber er-
stirbt, so bringt es viele Früchte.

Wer sein Leben lieb hat, der wird es ver-

lieren, und wer sein Leben auf dieser Welt hasset, der wird es erhalten zum ewigen Leben.

14. Szyrocki, II, 51: Nach dem dess Höchsten
übergrosse gunst.

15. Oesterley, 515.

16. HERR rette was sich noch nicht findet:
Was der noch feste Fessel bindet.
Was noch der Feind gefangen heisset:
Was noch die scharffe wehmuth beisset.

17. Diss wird dein Kind erquicken als die
flutt
Als das rauschen von den Bächen
Die so mit durst vnd gebrechen /
Im Suden quelt der Sonnen schwere glutt.

On Ps. 14 (53), see note 10.

18.

7.

Diss bleibt dess Himmels ewig-feste
Schluss
Dass Betrübte nicht stets klagen:
Dass die wollust folgt den Plagen
Dass wer getrawrt zu letzte jauchzen
muss ...

8.

Doch wird das ach / Das vnss verzehret
In frewdenschwang're Lust verkehret:
Wenn man die vollen Garben bringet
Vnd jauchzend vmb die Awen singet.

19. Weisbach, 205 - 206: Die Architektur, die führende Kunst des Barock, hat auf mysteriöse Stimmungseffekte hingearbeitet. Sie nutzte für diesen Zweck den Illusionismus aus ... Der Barock ist mit komplizierten Bildungen zu mannigfachen und eigenartigen Beleuchtungseffekten gelangt ... Der Schein einer überirdischen Welt soll vorge-
täuscht, der Einblick in den Himmel eröffnet werden. Die illusionistische Glorie ist eins der bevorzugten Ausdrucksmittel des Barock, um der Seele von dem Wesen des Heiligen eine Vorstellung zu geben und sie mit ihm in Verbindung zu setzen.

20. Max, 11: Weltschmerz bleibt dem Dichter des 17. Jahrhunderts noch Phrase - ausser Gryphius.

21. Neue Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 7, 242: Schicksalsschläge, Verlust und Bedrängnis, die er von Jugend auf in überreichem Masse an sich und seiner Umwelt erlebte, mögen dazu die Erfahrung von der "Vergänglichkeit menschlicher Sachen" fest in sein Weltbild eingeprägt haben.

Palm, III, footnote to Sonnet XXVII, Domine, quid est homo, quod memor es ejus: Im August 1638 befand sich Gryphius auf der Fahrt von Danzig nach Holland und bestand an der Küste von Rügen einen schweren Seesturm, kam aber glücklich nach Amsterdam. Auf jene Gefahr bezieht sich vielleicht dies Gedicht.

Luther's Bible, Ps. 8⁵: Was ist der Mensch, dass du seiner gedenkest, und des Menschen Kind, dass du dich seiner annimmst?

22. Szyrocki, II, 21-24: Book I, Odes X and XI.

23. Szyrocki, Leben und Werk, 67: Manchmal führt der Dichter in ihnen ein leidenschaftliches Zwiegespräch mit Gott. Er kann nicht verstehen, wie der Allmächtige das Leid auf Erden zulassen kann und fordert ihn auf, in das Weltgeschehen einzugreifen.

Szyrocki, II, 99: Wolte ich wol sagen / dass das hohe Lied nicht heilig / weil ich es nicht verstehe? ... oder / dass der 45. 68. vnd andere Psalmen nicht dess heiligen Geistes / weil sie zierlich vnd verblümet.

24. Szyrocki, II, 21, Sey nun wider zu Frieden, on Ps. 116⁷:

1. Satz

Was wanckt mein sinn den traurig hin
vndt wider?

Wie / wen die winde streitten /
Vndt Nordt vndt Ost raast wider seine
brüder:

Ein ast erbebt im arwen mertz.

25. Oesterley and Robinson, 212 - 213: The main theme of the book is the vanity, emptiness and worthlessness of human life ... Quite in tune with this pessimistic attitude is the theory of determinism ... Man is a helpless being, everything is fixed, and there is nothing he can do to shape or alter the events of life. But it is this very determinism to which is due the religious tone of the book, for all things are from God, even the power to enjoy life, and therefore all must be done by man with a Godward view.

26. Szyrocki, II, 23, Tibi sacrificabo

hostiam laudis, on Ps. 116 ¹⁵;

Str. 4. Die liebe wächst / durch die du mich gemacht
Da ich nicht war / durch die du mich erkoren
Eh' als ich wardt / die als ich war verlohren
Durch Adams schuldt / mich dir hatt wiederbracht,
Die mich so wehrt / da ich nichts wehrt geschätzt /
Dass sie dein kindt für mich in todt versetzt.

Angelus Silesius (1624 - 1677):

Liebe, die du mich zum Bilde
Deiner Gottheit hast gemacht;
Liebe, die du mich so milde
Nach dem Fall hast wiederbracht,
Liebe, dir ergeb ich mich
Dein zu bleiben ewiglich!

2. Liebe, die du mich erkoren
Eh als ich geschaffen war;
Liebe, die du Mensch geboren
Und mir gleich wardst ganz und gar ...
3. Liebe, die für mich gelitten
Und gestorben in der Zeit;
Liebe, die mir hat erstritten
Ewge Lust und Seligkeit ...

27. Sey nun wider zu friden:

2. Zusatz.

Ich wil für dir / mit dir / durch dich / in deinen
wegen
Mit vollen schritten gehn /
Da wo kein sterben sich / vndt keine seuchen regen
Wo keine gräber stehn /
Wo alles lebt / wo alles singt vndt klingt
Vndt einen danck dir nach dem andern bringt.
Wo alle schmerzen frey / dich der du selbst das
leben /
Mit alzeit newem preiss in ewigkeit erheben.

28. Tibi sacrificabo:

9. Herr fahre fort zeuch doch die milde handt
Nicht von mir ab! las alle menschen schawen
An mir / wie gutt es sey / auff dich vertrauen.
Wen schon sich raht / vndt hülff vndt trost verwandt/
So will ich weill ich werd ein ader rühren /
Dein wehrtes lob in mundt vndt hertzen führen.

Luther's Bible, Ps. 116 17-19:

Dir will ich Dank opfern, und des Herrn Namen predigen.

Ich will meine Gelübde dem Herrn bezahlen, vor allen
seinen Volk,

In den Höfen am Hause des Herrn, in dir, Jerusalem,
Halleluja.

J. CHRISTOFFEL von GRIMMELSHAUSEN

1621/22 - 1676

Like much of the work of Gerhardt and of Scheffler, Grimmelshausen's powerful Simplicissimus is überkonfessionell. Its author evidently changed sides somewhere along the way. 1., but his transfer of loyalties was unimportant. Although Weltentsagung became the final word of his great novel, he arrived at it only after a varied experience of life in the world, an experience which included perception of the world's beauty, increasing the tension and troubling him, as it did Johann Franck. For Grimmelshausen, the highway was the way of lost innocence and spiritual peril, but it led also inevitably towards new horizons. 2.

'For the last time' and 'for the first time' are phrases which sharply define the dilemma of the men of the Baroque. Their great difficulty was this: they were afraid, lest their curiosity might destroy them, but it had to be satisfied. Until he added the Continuatio, Grimmelshausen had left his hero meditating on what the court preacher to Charles V had to say about the dangers. And here was a direct appeal to Nature, to the actual physical stuff of the world, to provide a desperate last refuge from the Day of Judgment. 3. But Grimmelshausen could see that his Simplicius had not yet ventured far enough. He must finish as he

had begun, in Waldeinsamkeit; he would have to rediscover the world as die Wunderwelt Gottes.

Grimmelshausen's linking of the new story to the old is masterly indeed. He repeats an early passage, but with stronger overtones. 4. Before introducing it the second time, he writes: "So that at last we had nothing to complain about, but lived like men in the first golden time, ... like the first men in the Golden Age." 5. In between, the whole wide world has shrunk to the size of a paradise island in the Indian Ocean, as the result of a shipwreck which is symbolic as well as actual. "Now Paradisal man always chose to follow God's will ... His God-ward will rode his happiness like a well-managed horse." 6. But Grimmelshausen's hermit is too much a child of the seventeenth century for Paradise to be as simple as all that. He has one foot in the Middle Ages and the other in the disturbingly beautiful reality of his surroundings. The little island has to be his world, now that he is no longer of the world, and everything on it (in the absence of edifying books to read) an incitement to piety. A prickly bush recalls the crown of thorns; an apple represents the Fall; in his own little garden, he joins in the Redeemer's agony of prayer on Olivet. 7.

Every natural object has its own tangible presence, and is useful in one way or another by supplying his simple physical needs, but each is as well a reminder of his

guilt and of his soul's need; each preaches the gospel of a last chance, for him and for his time ("von welcher man glaubt, dass es die letzte sei"). 8. This terrifying eschatological idea of the destruction of the present order before the great restoration, is associated with certain aspects of the 'Golden Age' psalms, and there is a curious echo of it in the Mummelsee sequence, where Ps. 72 is mentioned, though quite incorrectly in this connection. The really striking thing here is the role assigned to Nature, until the time of the regeneration of the world. 9.

Ps. 72 is a Königspsalm, composed to celebrate the accession of a king who is to reign in righteousness. "Such the harvest his subjects shall reap, peace on every mountain, justice on every hillside ... His days will be crowned with the fair fruit of justice, with the blessings of peace; and may those days last till the moon shines no more." 10. The psalm is höfisch-absolutistisch, in the only sense in which that sort of world can ever be justified. So is Ps. 45, on which Nicolai had based his Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern, and to fit the melody of which Grimmelshausen wrote his Nachtigallenlied.

The Simplicissimus Teutsch is a monumental mix-up of lordly pomps and ragged hermits, of fiery lusts and naked souls fleeing from the wrath to come, of a Golden Age of innocence and a blackened age of guilt, of the beauty

and the transitoriness of things. This improbable kaleidoscope is the complex but patterned image of seventeenth-century Germany, and within it the Nightingale Song has its own peculiar significance. 11.

Notes: 1. Schöne, Vorbemerkung, XIII: Selbst hier wird man bedenken dürfen, dass der Austausch der Lieder über die Konfessionsgrenzen hinwegging, Angelus Silesius etwa auch in protestantischen oder Paul Gerhardt auch in katholischen Gesangbüchern gedruckt wurde.

Scholte, 132: Von 1634 an weisen seine Schicksale einen gewissen Parallelismus mit denen seines Helden im Simplicissimus Teutsch auf. War er in Gelnhausen protestantisch erzogen worden, von 1638 an finden wir ihn in katholischer Umgebung. Es muss also ein Glaubensübertritt stattgefunden haben.

2. Kelletat, 475 and 392: Aber nun du o mein arme Seel was hast du von dieser ganzen Reis zuwege bebracht ... der Leib ist müd, der Verstand verwirret, die Unschuld ist hin ... nichts ist des mich erfreuet, und über dies alles, bin ich mir selber feind. - Da beklagte ich erst die verlorne Unschuld, die ich aus dem Wald gebracht, und in der Welt so vielfältig verscherzt hatte.

Nachwort, 610: Es war die letzte gemeineuropäische Epoche, ein gigantischer Versuch, die alten abendländischen Bildungsmächte noch einmal in Einklang zu bringen am Rande einer unaufhaltsam neuen Zeit. Mittelalterliche Gebundenheit in Denken und Glauben mischt sich mit der Ahnung der bevorstehenden Herrschaft einer radikalen Vernunft.

612: Die Gläubigkeit des Mittelalters besteht hier eine letzte Probe (quoting Vietor).

Scholte, 64: Der Schwarzwaldteil der Continuatio ist literarhistorisch dadurch vor allem wichtig, dass zum ersten Mal in der deutschen Literatur eine Gebirgslandschaft, mit dem für landschaftliche Schönheit empfänglichen Auge geschaut, geschildert wird.

3. Kelletat: 482: Alsdann wird die arme Seel sagen ... O ihr Berg, Hügel und Felsen fallet auf mich, und verbergt mich vor dem grimmigen Zorn des Lamms, vor dem Angesicht dessen, der auf dem Stuhl sitzt; Ach Wehe und aber Wehe in Ewigkeit!

4. Kelletat: 128: So könnte man der Druckere und Schriften auch wohl entbehren, nach Ausspruch und Meinung jenes heiligen Manns, welcher dafür hielt, die ganze weite Welt sei ihm Buchs genug, die Wunder seines Schöpfers zu betrachten, und die göttliche Allmacht daraus zu erkennen

5. Kelletat, 581 - 582: - also dass wir endlich gar nichts zu klagen hatten, sondern wie die Leut in der ersten güldenen Zeit lebten ... Also lebten wir, wie obgemeldet, als die ersten Menschen in der güldenen Zeit, da der gütige Himmel denselbigen ohne einzige Arbeit alles Guts aus der Erden hervorwachsen lassen.

6. C.S. Lewis, The Problem of Pain, Chapter VI.

7. Kelletat, 586: O wie oft wünschte ich mir, wenn ich meinen Leib abgemattet hatte und demselben seine Ruhe geben musste, geistliche Bücher, mich selbst darin zu trösten, zu ergötzen und aufzubauen, aber ich hatte solche drum nit; demnach ich aber vor diesem von einem heiligen Mann gelesen, dass er gesagt, die ganze weite Welt sei ihm ein grosses Buch, darinnen er die Wunderwerke Gottes erkennen und zu dessen Lob angefrischt werden möchte; also gedachte ich demselbigen nachzufolgen, wiewohl ich sozusagen nit mehr in der Welt war; die kleine Insel musste mir die ganze Welt sein, und in derselbigen ein jedes Ding, ja ein jeder Baum! ein Antrieb zur Gottseligkeit ... sah ich ein stachelicht Gewächs, so erinnerte ich mich der Dornenkron Christi, sah ich einen Apfel oder Granat, so gedachte ich an den Fall unserer ersten Eltern ... war ich in meinem Garten, so gedachte ich an das ängstig Gebet am Ölberg.

8. See the very first sentence of Book I, Chapter I.

9. Kelletat, 432: - dass wir als vernünftige Kreaturen Gottes hierin leben, unser Geschäft verrichten und Gott den Schöpfer in seinen grossen Wunderwerken loben sollen! Hierzu nun sind wir und solche Seen erschaffen, und werden auch bis an den Jüngsten Tag bestehen; Wenn wir aber gegen dieselbe letzte Zeit unsere Geschäfte ... unterlassen müssen, so muss auch notwendig die Welt durchs Feuer unter-

gehen ... und alle Wasser verschwinden, ehe sich die Erde von sich selbst durch der Sonnen Hitz entzünde, calciniere, und wiederum regeneriere.

10. Knox Ps. 71³ and 7 (Vulgate numbering).
The Latin of v. 7 reads as follows:

Florebit in diebus ejus iustitia
et abundantia pacis, donec deficiat luna.

Grimmelshausen has: - so aber vermutlich mit ehender geschehen kann, es sei denn, dass ihr der Mond (donec auferatur luna, Ps. 71), Venerem oder Martem (Venus oder Mars), als Morgen - und Abendstern verlieret, denn es müssten die generationes fructu - & animalium (das Entstehen, Fortleben der Früchte und Tiere) erst vergehen und alle Wasser verschwinden.

11. Schöne, Vorbemerkung, X : Noch die leidenschaftlichste Daseinsfreude, die jubelndste Weltlust ist ihrem Gegensatz verhaftet, in sich gebrochen, ein Lustgeschrei welches das Stöhnen der Angst nur für Augenblicke übertönt, ja Ausgeburd dieser Angst eines im Tiefsten freudlosen Zeitalters. Und noch die leidenschaftlichste Askese, die radikalste Verdammung weltlichen Daseins bleibt ihrem Gegensatz verbunden, ist in sich gebrochen, ein Ausdruck brennender Sehnsucht nach der Dauer weltlicher Schönheit und der Beständigkeit irdischer Lust; nie waren die Pracht und der Prunk, mit der man den himmlischen Hofstaat und die göttliche Majestät ausrüstete, weltlicher als in dieser Zeit.

Scholte, 90: Die unscheinbare Nachtigall mit dem Jubel ihrer Stimme inmitten der nächtlichen Stille der Natur war im Barockzeitalter vielleicht mehr als jemals von symbolischer Bedeutung. Für Grimmelshausen ist sie schlechthin Verkündigerin des Göttlichen in der Natur. Ihr Singen macht es dem empfänglichen Menschen bewusst, welche Schrecknisse in Gottes Schöpfung hausen.

84: Das ist der Grundakkord von Grimmelshausens Lebenshaltung: wie herrlich hat Gott die Welt erschaffen und wie teuflisch haust darin die menschliche Kreatur!

3. TOWARDS RATIONALISM

GEORG NEUMARK

1621 - 1684

IN ABOUT 1640 Georg Neumark left Gotha, with the intention of taking up law at Königsberg and of furthering his study of poetry, under Simon Dach. Königsberg, of all the German universities, was the only centre of learning not disturbed by the violence and confusion of the Thirty Years' War. The irony of the situation, from Neumark's point of view, was that it took him three years to get there. Soon after his journey began, highwaymen robbed him of practically everything he possessed. He wandered about from ill-fated Magdeburg, through Lüneburg to Hamburg, without finding anything to do. At last he was given employment as a house-tutor in Kiel, where he stayed on into the third year, before heading for Königsberg again.

On Neumark's own testimony, it was the relieving of his plight in Kiel that brought him to write Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten. 1. So his celebrated Hauptlied belongs either to the end of 1640 or to the beginning of 1641, and is thus the work of a student barely out of his teens. An accomplished musician, Neumark wrote his own melody to the words, we do not know exactly when. They appeared together, apparently published for the first time, in a

second and enlarged edition of poetic-musical works in 1657.
2. The faultless matching of words and tune, with its unity of mood in both, recalls Nicolai's great hymns of 1599.

At the head of his text, which he called a Trostlied, Neumark wrote: "Dass GOTT einen Jeglichen zu seiner Zeit versorgen und erhalten will." And below that, he quoted Luther's Ps.55²³: "Wirf dein Anliegen auf den Herrn. Der wird dich versorgen &c." The Cambridge Bible points out that the word usually rendered 'burden' is of uncertain meaning, but that it seems to signify 'that which he hath given thee', and refers the verse back to Ps.37⁵, the Befehl du deine Wege of Paul Gerhardt's hymn, where the sense is: "shake off and devolve upon Him all the burden of anxiety for life's course." 3. This is exactly what Luther and Gerhardt were able to do. There is such a thing as religious temperament. Some natures can readily accept the doctrine of Ps.37 and of the psalms associated with it, while others simply cannot. This difference became more and more pronounced in the German Baroque. Both attitudes were still deeply devotional, perhaps for the last time; but whereas in Luther opposites could unite in a highly complex personality, in Gerhardt and Gryphius they stood diametrically contrasted. 4.

In Luther and Gerhardt, the capacity to accept and trust was doubtless of a higher order than it was in Neumark. A very young man with life still out in front of him,

not knowing what he may yet be called upon to endure, can be expected to say with some confidence:

Verricht das deine nur getreu,
Und trau des Himmels reichem Segen.

But only if he has that kind of outlook. Having been reduced to want, through no fault of his own; having had his immediate plans wrecked in a chance encounter with thieves, Neumark was all gratitude when given an opportunity to recover his self-respect, and to earn by his own effort the security of a normal existence. He saw his good fortune as an act of divine providence. The philosophy of Ps. 37 had been vindicated by events, so his optimism was relatively easy.

Neumark's lines have been read and sung by thousands who found in them an expression of their own patient or sanguine approach to living:

Was helfen uns die schweren Sorgen?
Was hilft uns unser Weh und Aeh? ...
Wir machen unser Kreuz und Leid
Nur grösser durch die Traurigkeit.

In Cantata No. 21 (Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis), using all the tenors, Bach weaves this part of the hymn into a movement in which the other soloists sing, to an organ accompaniment, words from Ps. 116: "Sei nun wieder zufrieden, meine Seele".
5. Then presently the melody is given to the sopranos, to the words:

Denk nicht in deiner Drangsalhitze,
Dass du von Gott verlassen seiest.

And here the chorus and the instruments of the orchestra join in with "denn der Herr tut dir Guts." But of that, more in its appropriate place.

Between Neumark's hymn and Bach's use of it, stood the mystical Song of Songs. And its presence connoted a difference in the nature of the burden being carried. When Johann Franck wrote: "Dir will ich die Last aufbinden", he was thinking of the mystery of redemption, by which alone the intolerable weight of a self-imposed load could be removed. In its Old-Testament context, this differentiation between burdens separates the writers of the Penitentials from the Wisdom-poetry psalmists. In its christological context, it translates the Song of Songs and Ps. 73 into a new spiritual dimension. Scheffler's 'Surrender of the Soul' is a superb illustration of this. 6. Neumark's hymn makes no attempt to reach such heights, and neither does the text on which he based it. "As so often, the value of the psalm lies not so much in its doctrine as in the spirit it expresses. Here is a man living in a world of violence ... yet confident in the God to whom he has committed himself." 7.

Neumark went on to write other spiritual songs, some thirty-three of them, but in the manner of his day he preferred the more fashionable and ambitious literary ventures, the ventures which brought rewards. Once Opitz had enunciated his theory, it was no doubt inevitable that writers

seeking recognition should expend their energies on juggling with form and language, rather than speaking out simply and directly. Neumark discovered a new poetic style which gained him entry into the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft. He constructed 'triumphal arches and pyramids in rhyme', 8. but somehow they were not substantial enough to withstand the wind and the weather; they did not have the lasting qualities of his youthful song.

As he sets out into the wide world, Eichen-derff's happy-go-lucky rover gives us an idea of how Neumark's hymn was regarded by the Romantics:

Den lieben Gott lass ich nur walten;
Der Bächlein, Lerchen, Wald und Feld
Und Erd und Himmel will erhalten,
Hat auch mein Sach aufs best bestellt! 9.

For all its thistle-down lightness of touch, that asserts the continuously creative activity of God with the deep conviction of the Nature psalmists. The limpid beauty of such lyrics was something which German literature still had to recapture, and so was their happy spirit.

Notes: 1. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 23, 539: Dieses unverhoffte Glück war es, was nach seinem eigenen Zeugnisse Neumark veranlaßte, in seinem Liede Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten "der göttlichen Barmherzigkeit für solche Gnade zu danken".

Terry, II, Nos 377, 379, 380, 382, Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten. Hymn, by Georg Neumark, in seven 6-line stanzas (1657). Melody, by Neumark (1657).

Nos. 376 and 381, to Wer weiß wie nahe mir mein Ende!, by Emilie Juliane, Countess of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, in twelve 6-line stanzas (1695).

No. 378, to Ich armer Mensch, ich armer Sünder, by Christoph Tietze, in eight 6-line stanzas (1663).

2. ADB, Vol. 23, 540: In zweiter vermehrter Auflage wurde dieses Buch unter dem Titel "Fortgeplanter musikalisch-poetischer Lustwald", Jena 1657, von Neumark herausgegeben. In dieser zweiten Auflage befindet sich sein Lied ... mit der Melodie und zwar, so weit bis jetzt bekannt ist, zum ersten Mal gedruckt.

Schöne, 197, gives verse 1, l. 3, as: Der wird Ihn wunderlich erhalten, with this footnote: Ihn = sich (dagegen die Fassung von 1681: Den wird er wunderlich erhalten. (Entstanden 1640, Erstdruck 1657).

3. Cambridge Bible, 315, and on Ps. 37⁵, 190.

4. Hankamer, 477: Die Kultur des Barock ist die letzte, die im Abendland und vor allem in Deutschland aus einem wirklich religiösen Urerlebnis erstand.

257: Was in Luthers Existenz sich zur Einheit band, trat im Luthertum des Barock polar auseinander, im Tone des Gryphius und dem Paul Gerhards.

5. See Gryphius, Notes 24 and 27.

6. Liebe, die mich hat gebunden
An ihr Jeßu mit Leib und Sinn;
Liebe, die mich überwunden
Und mein Herz hat ganz dahin,
Liebe, dir ergeb ich mich,
Dein zu bleiben ewiglich!

Liebe, die mich wird entrücken
Aus dem Grab der Sterblichkeit;
Liebe, die mich einst wird schmücken
Mit dem Laub der Herrlichkeit ...

In the English translation made by Mrs. R. Howard Krause, this becomes:

THE SURRENDER OF THE SOUL TO THE EVERLASTING LOVE.

Sempre più forte e più mosso.

mf Thou Who one day wilt the man-tle Of Thy Glo-ry round me throw,
mf Thou Who wilt the man-tle Of Thy Glo-ry round me
mf Thou Who one day wilt the man-tle Of Thy Glo-ry round me throw,
mf Thou Who wilt the man-tle Of Thy Glo-ry round me
mf Thou Who one day wilt the man-tle Of Thy Glo-ry round me throw,
mf Thou Who wilt the man-tle Of Thy Glo-ry round me
mf Thou Who one day wilt the man-tle Of Thy Glo-ry round me throw,
mf Thou Who wilt the man-tle Of Thy Glo-ry round me

Sempre più forte e più mosso.

mf

Thou Who one day wilt the man-tle Of Thy Glo-ry round me throw,
 throw, Thou Who wilt the man-tle Of Thy Glo-ry round me throw,
 Thou Who one day wilt the man-tle Of Thy Glo-ry round me throw,
 throw, Thou Who wilt the man-tle Of Thy Glo-ry round me throw,
 Thou Who one day wilt the man-tle Of Thy Glo-ry round me throw,
 throw, Thou Who wilt the man-tle Of Thy Glo-ry round me throw,
 Thou Who one day wilt the man-tle Of Thy Glo-ry round me throw,
 throw, Thou Who wilt the man-tle Of Thy Glo-ry round me throw,
 Thou Who one day wilt the man-tle Of Thy Glo-ry round me throw,
 throw, Thou Who wilt the man-tle Of Thy Glo-ry round me throw,

THE SURRENDER OF THE SOUL TO THE EVERLASTING LOVE.

f *sempre cres. ed accel.*

of Thy Glo - ry .. round me .. throw, of Thy
of Thy Glo - ry .. round me .. throw, of Thy
of Thy Glo - ry .. round me throw, of Thy
of Thy Glo - ry .. round me throw, of Thy
of Thy Glo - ry .. round me .. throw, of Thy
of Thy Glo - ry .. round me throw, .. of Thy
of .. Thy Glo - ry .. round me .. throw, of Thy glo - ry ..
of : .. Thy Glo - ry .. round me .. throw, of Thy glo - ry ..

f *sempre cres. ed accel.*

Tranquillo come prima.

Glo - ry round me throw.
Glo - ry round me throw.
Glo - ry round me throw.
Glo - ry round me throw.
Glo - ry round me throw. *p* *Tranquillo come prima.*
Glo - ry .. round me throw. Love, I give my - self to Thee,
round me throw, of Thy Glo - ry round me throw. Love I give my - self to Thee,
round me throw, of Thy Glo - ry round me throw. Love I give my - self to Thee,
Tranquillo come prima.

Love, Whose yoke is laid upon me,
Making me for ever Thine;
Love, Whose pow'r is all-subduing,
Claiming ev'ry thought of mine,
Love, I give myself to Thee,
Thine to be eternally.

Saviour, Who alone canst raise me
From the grave of mortal woe;
Thou Who one day wilt the mantle
Of thy glory round me throw ...

"Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel," says the writer of Ps. 73, "and after that receive me with glory. Whom have I in heaven but thee: and there is none upon earth that I desire in comparison of thee".

7. Oesterley, 286.

8. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 23, 540: Er "erfand einen neuen poetischen Stil, den architektonisch- lapidarischen, in welchem er Triumphbogen und Pyramiden in Reimen erbaute", wie Barthold sich ausdrückt und erlangte dadurch denn auch, dass der Herzog Wilhelm, wenn auch nach einigem Zögern, ihn im J. 1653 in die Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft aufnahm.

9. Eichendorff, Der frohe Wandersmann.
And in Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts: Ich rief den armen Leuten nach allen Seiten recht stolz und zufrieden Adieu zu, aber es kümmerte sich eben keiner sehr darum. Mir war es wie ein ewiger Sonntag im Gemüte. Und als ich endlich ins freie Feld hinaus kam, da nahm ich meine liebe Geige vor und spielte und sang, auf der Landstrasse fortgehend:

Wem Gott will rechte Gunst erweisen,
Den schiekt er in die weite Welt ...

JOACHIM NEANDER

1650 - 1680

To many of the most thoughtful minds of the Baroque, life seemed like a piled-up dissonance waiting for a resolution which never came. This produced stresses which might have

been unbearable, had not men's faith assured them of an after-life, and to this they directed their longing. Purposeful nationhood could scarcely develop from within such a situation. For better or for worse, at whatever cost, men were bound to reach a new fearlessness towards their world. To a growing spirit of inquiry, the clashing elements of the seventeenth-century discord were alien and unacceptable. 1.

When two-thirds of the century had elapsed, there appeared a new mystical movement known as Pietism, "the most dangerous germ-cell in the disintegrative process of the Aufklärung". 2. The towering musical intellect of Bach, the last great figure of the Baroque with Luther's evangel in his heart, found little upon which to seize in the poetry of Pietism. 3. Amongst the thinkers, Leibnitz rejected Spinoza's un-Jewish, pantheistic interpretation of the universe, for which, strangely enough, the anthropomorphic and undeveloped conceptions of certain of the psalmists were largely to blame. He spoke rather of 'a pre-established harmony' of matter and spirit, developing an optimistic rationalism which sought a reconciliation of opposites. Wolff systematized this thinking into a type of new scholasticism, more palatable than orthodox theology. With him, reason was levelled-off into reasonableness, an eminently practical common-sense. 4.

It is an interesting fact that, at its found-

ation towards the end of the seventeenth century, the University of Halle was first the nerve centre of Pietism, during the professorship of A.H. Francke, Spener's leading disciple; and that it then became, early in the eighteenth century, the focal point of Rationalism, under Wolff.

Perhaps one of the most significant indications of these coming changes was a relaxation in the Reformed Church of Calvin's strict rule concerning the Psalter. 5. This came about in a rather odd way, and Joachim Neander was largely responsible for the change. He was the first outstanding hymn-writer to appear in the Reformed communion since the time of the Reformation. What he wrote was promptly adopted by the Lutherans, and more gradually had the effect of breaking the exclusive use of the Lobwasser Psalter in the Reformed service, and of allowing original, freely-composed songs to take a place alongside it. For rigidly organized Calvinism, this was a radical adjustment.

Neander was not the only writer in a Reformed-pietistic group to which he had been attracted by. Underwey and Spener himself, 6. but there was a quality in some of his hymns which set them apart. They were intended in the first place rather for private devotions than for congregational use. The original edition of 1680 had on the title page: "zu lesen und zu singen auf Reisen, zu Haus oder bei Christen-

Ergötzungen im Grünen", but it is Neander's conveyed impression of Man-within-Nature that makes the best songs true Kirchenlieder. There really is a Neanderthal through which the little river Düssel flows, even if the popularly-accepted story of a Neander's Cave is legend.

Above the hymn Unbegreiflich Gut, wahrer Gott alleine, Neander wrote: "The joys of summer and autumn in field and forest", and took his theme from Ps. 104. 7. In Wunderbarer König, it was Ps. 150, with its array of instruments of music. 8. And just as Ps. 150 epitomizes the psalmody of the past, so Neander's finest lyric, Der Lobende, somehow does the same:

Kommet zu Hauf!
Psalter und Harfe, wacht auf,
Lasset die Musikan hören!

Alles, was Oden hat, lobe mit Abrahams Samen! 9.

In the heading, Neander refers to the first verse of Ps. 103, which Gunkel classified as a Hymnus, a type "originally intended for use either chorally or as a solo in connexion with the normal round of worship, although in the course of time it was freed in part from its cultic associations and might be composed simply as a means of expressing the author's own personal adoration and devotion." 10. What was happening in the Reformed Church in Germany could scarcely be more clearly put.

But the same Neander who wrote Der Lobende and Himmel, Erde, Luft und Meer, wrote Eitelkeit! Eitelkeit! was wir hier sehen, and Wie fleucht dahin der Menschen Zeit! Although men were beginning to see the phenomenal world with

new eyes, to listen to its voices with a new understanding, and to feel more at home in it, they were not yet free of the acute apprehension which waited on, for the dissonance to be resolved. 11.

Notes:

1. Schöne, Vorbemerkung, VII:
Das mächtigste Hindernis zwischen dem heutigen Leser und der deutschen Barockliteratur hat die Goethezeit errichtet.

Schweitzer, I, 14: For the second half of the eighteenth century Bach's cantatas and Passions did not exist; they had gone into exile with the old church hymn.

2. Schneider, 33: Die gefährlichste Keimzelle im Zersetzungsprozess der Aufklärung war doch der Pietismus, auch eine Erweckungsbewegung, die im letzten Drittel des 17. Jahrhunderts eingesetzt hatte, um dem unter der Tyrannei theologischer Dogmatik seines inneren Lebens beraubten Christentum die verlorenen Sittlichkeits- und Gefühlswerte wieder zurückzubringen.

Robertson, 240: But German pietism, unlike English puritanism, with which it may, in many respects, be compared, was not a militant faith; its watchword was renunciation, its thoughts were fixed on the millennium; its meekness was little adapted to stir the nation to intellectual achievement.

3. Schweitzer, I, 13: Pietism did indeed produce some spiritual poetry; but for Bach's work, so far as the chorale strophes are concerned, this is of little importance. 22: When Bach came on the scene, the great epoch of chorale creation was at an end, like that of the sacred poem.

4. Schneider, 19: Aus dem Zusammenfluss der in Frankreich aufgekommenen rationalistischen Strömung mit der in England beheimateten empiristischen bildet sich in

Deutschland jene geistige Atmosphäre, in der sich nun die "Vernunft" zum "gesunden Menschenverstand" verflachte ... Christian Wolff steht bereits auf der Passhöhe dieses Überganges.

5. Schneider, 13, on Calvinism: Dieser wusste sich noch dazu leichter als die anderen christlichen Konfessionen der neuen um sich greifenden Weltgesinnung anzupassen.

6. Blume, 388: Die Entwicklung der reformierten Kirchenmusik ist seit dem Zeitalter des Pietismus und der Aufklärung auf dem gesamten europäischen Kontinent durch eine zunehmende Auflockerung der bisherigen streng calvinistischen Massstäbe gekennzeichnet ... Freilich wurde der offizielle Gottesdienst davon nur wenig, vielmehr in erster Linie nur das häusliche Andachtsleben berührt. Diese Bewegung griff auch auf das niederrheinische Gebiet über und schuf dort den Boden für eine reformierte Kirchenlieddichtung eigener Prägung. Ihre Hauptvertreter sind Joachim Neander, Friedrich Adolf Lampe und Gerhardt Tersteegen gewesen ... Die Wirkung dieser Dichter ist ausserordentlich gewesen; sie trugen entscheidend in ihrer Umgebung dazu bei, die absolute Vorherrschaft des Psalmliedes stark zurückzudrängen und bekamen mit ihren Liedern auf reformiertem Boden die Bedeutung, die das Freylinghausensche Gesangbuch auf lutherischem hatte.

7. Luther's Bible, Ps. 104²⁴: Herr, wie sind deine Werke so gross und viel? Du hast sie alle weislich geordnet, und die Erde ist voll deiner Güter.

8. Oesterley, 587 and 593, on Ps. 150: Its place and composition may well have been the work of the final redactor of the various collections of psalms which had accumulated through the centuries ... The triumphant strains resounding in this Hallelujah finale make a noble and fitting conclusion to the Psalms, the grandest symphony of praise to God ever composed on earth.

9. Terry, I, No. 126, Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen König der Ehren. Hymn, by Joachim Neander, in five 5-line stanzas (1680). Melody, anonymous (1665) to Hast du denn, Liebster, dein Angesicht gänzlich verborgen? : perhaps of secular origin.

Luther's Bible, Ps. 150⁶: Alles, was Odem hat, lobe den Herrn, Halleluja.

10. Rowley, 166.

11. Himmel, Erde, Luft und Meer.

The Württemberg Gesangbuch of 1865 (No.60), gives this as based on Ps. 49 1-7, but it seems closer to Ps. 104:

Str. 2.

Seht das grosse Sonnenlicht,
Wie es durch die Wolken bricht!
Mondesglanz und Sternenpracht
Loben Gott in stiller Nacht.

3.

Seht, wie Gott der Erde Ball
Hat gezieret überall!
Wälder, Flur und jedes Thier
Zeigen Gottes Finger hier.

Wolff, 221 (Nro.2):

Prediger I. 2.

Der alles Eitel Nennende.

Str. 3.

Eitelkeit! Eitelkeit! grosse Paläste;
Eitelkeit! Eitelkeit! lachende Gäste;
Christen, die suchen ein ewiges Haus,
Ihre Gedanken sind nimmer daraus.

Wolff, 222 (Nro. 3):

Psalm XC. 12.

Der seine Tage Zehlende.

Str. 3.

Lass Berg und Hügel fallen hin,
Mir ist Gewinn,
Wann ich allein bei Jesu bin.

4.

So lang ich in der Hütten wohn,
Ei lehre mich, o Gottes Sohn!
Gieb, dass ich zehle meine Tag,
Und munter wach,
Dass, eh ich sterbe, sterben mag!

The Württemberg Gesangbuch (No.591) refers to Ps. 39 ⁵;
Aber, Herr, lehre doch mich, dass es ein Ende mit mir haben
muss, und mein Leben ein Ziel hat, und ich davon muss.

QUIRINUS KUHLMANN

1651 - 1689

A few years after the premature death of Joachim Neander, Kuhlmann's extraordinary Psalter made its appearance. That it stands in any direct relationship to the Hebrew Psalter is difficult to see, although it would be easy enough to demonstrate that odd passages from certain Kühlpсалmen resemble isolated verses of authentic psalms. In 1670 Kuhlmann entered the University of Jena, but an excessive religious Schwärmerei soon led him to Holland, 1. where he set himself up as the head man in a world kingdom of the pious. It is a pathetic story of delusion, one which ends with a horrible death. His 'psalms' relate the events connected with the establishment of his empire, das Kuhlmannstum, of which the temporal and ecclesiastical princes of this world were invited to become members. In his more lucid moments, Kuhlmann was a poet capable of expressing his spiritual struggles and triumphs with considerable power and, it must be admitted, with something very like the characteristic vehemence of individual psalmists. 2.

Notes: 1. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 17, 331: 1673 verliess er die Universität und begab sich in

das Eldorado aller Schwärmer, in das Land der Geistesfreiheit, nach Holland; hier vertiefte er sich in Jakob Böhme's Schriften.

2. Kemp, 275:

Der 64. Kehlpsalm

Aus tiefster Not schrei, abgemergelt Herz!
Lass mich noch einst die matte Hand aufheben!
Es harnischt mich und panzert recht der Schmerz!
Die Zunge klebt! Angst hat mich rings umgeben!
Mein Gott, mein Gott! Du zentnerst stete Last!
Hör auf, hör auf, eh ich bin ganz verdrückt.

Schöne, 236:

Der 97. Kehlpsalm

17. So stös ich los in meines Gottes schirm!
Auf, Engel, auf! umschlisset mich nun rings!
Auf, Heiligen, auf! Auf, jauchzt in dieser uhr!
Unendlich wird itz meines Hertzens mutt!
Unendlich wird mein vorsatz fest in Gott!
Es sinke weg, was mich verhindern wil!
Auf, kaempft vor mich, du Himmel und du Erd!

(Erstdruck, 1686).

ERNST LANGE

1650 - 1727

An examination of the fourth period of German hymnody, from 1680 to 1757, 1. shows the Pietists and the Moravians hard at work. If the three writers of the Reformed Church are added, the list contains some thirty names, and includes Spener, Francke, Freylinghausen, Zinzendorf. From these four, Bach took nothing into his four-part chorales. Very sparingly, he used hymns by ten of the others, but apart

from Neander's Der Lobende scarcely any found their way into the cantatas, and the Neander hymn seems to be the only one drawing directly on the Psalter. If we turn then to the German Psalters for the corresponding period (1688-1754), 2. we find Neumeister mentioned as one of the writers who treated selected psalms, and a quite surprising number of versifications of the complete Psalter. Of these, Ernst Lange was responsible for the most interesting.

Lange was associated with the Danzig Mennonites and Pietists, becoming embroiled in acrimonious quarrels with the Lutheran clergy. But he evidently revised his thinking in later life, since he worked over the hymns of Luther in an effort "to get them into somewhat purer verse". 3. In 1711 he brought out a collection called LXI. Gott geheiligte Stunden, one for each year of his life, as an act of thanksgiving for his escape from the plague. This was followed in 1713 by a German version of the Psalms, made to fit the French Reformed melodies. The whole of this he subsequently reworked, so that his psalms could be sung to the Lutheran chorales. 4. One of these Lange hymns is still sung by Methodist congregations of the English-speaking world. O Gott, du Tiefe sonder Grund, made a great impression on John Wesley; it is on Ps. 103, and his spirited translation of it goes to the tune of Luther's Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her:

What words suffice
Thy countless attributes to show? ...
Unchangeable, all-perfect Lord.

The theme of what is perhaps the most widely known of Lange's verses, follows St. Paul's celebrated passage in the first letter to the Christians of Corinth, on faith, hope and imperishable love. Lange had some observations of his own to make, and they are illuminating. Love as one of the great blessings bestowed by Christ, is like a healing balm, a glittering star, a priceless jewel; or like the compelling joy of beauty that beckons. With faith and hope to help it here, love reconciles time and eternity. 5.

Notes:

1. Julian, 416-417.

2. Julian, 1544-1545.

3. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 17, 623: - 1708 "Uebersetzungen der Lieder Luthers", die er in "etwas reinere Verse zu bringen" versuchte.

4. Julian, 1545, Nos. 53 and 54:

Die el. Psalmen in deutsche Reime gebracht, Danzig, 1713 (Berlin). By Ernst Lange, in the Marot-Beza metres.

Die auf lutherische Melodeyen in deutsche Lieder übersetzte el. Psalmen Davids. Danzig, 1720 (Wernigerode). Also by Ernst Lange.

5. Given in the Württemberg Gesangbuch (No. 422) under Nächstenliebe:

Str. 5.

Glaubenssieg und Hoffnungsblüthe
Führt uns tröstend durch die Welt,

Bis das irdische Gebiete
Und der Schöpfungsbau zerfällt;
Nur der Liebe weite Grenzen
Strecken sich in Ewigkeit;
Alle, die sich ihr geweiht,
Werden unaufhörlich glänzen.
Glaub und Hoffnung bleiben hier;
Liebe währet für und für.

ERDMANN NEUMEISTER

1671 - 1756

Whereas Lange got himself into trouble for having Pietist sympathies, Neumeister stirred up opposition by being too aggressively Lutheran. In his student days, he had suffered from what he called pietistic "Anfechtungen", and the virulence of his later attacks may have been prompted partly by a need of convincing himself. 1. However that may be, his spiritual songs were taken into the hymn-books of the time as true evangelical Kernlieder. "It is often strange how little mutual understanding exists between tastes and tendencies which are really identical in aim and feeling," says Bach's great biographer. And for the hymns of Neumeister he claims that they "are among the best not only of his time, but of the Lutheran church at any period". 2. Bach himself seems not to have shared this view, as only one Neumeister hymn appears in the complete chorales, to an original Bach

melody with figured bass. 3.

Neumeister's treatment of a psalm allusion can be so free that it is often necessary to take some editor's word for it that he was using the Psalter at all. Ostensibly from Ps. 37, so dear to Luther and Gerhardt, comes Höchster Gott, durch deinen Segen - Bless me anew today, bless me with thy Spirit, bless me with thy Word, bless me in my calling, bless me in affliction and sorrow. 4. Elsewhere, he has something further to say on the subject of Kreuz und Leiden, in the hymn Tag und Nacht ist dein. 5. The important thing to notice here is that Neumeister has related psalm texts to a daily situation. Such hymns are essentially about living out one's life. Eternity waits beyond, but in the meantime there is much to be done in a world which, though not perfect, is still 'the best of all possible worlds'.

Neumeister was no particularly knowledgeable musician, but with the appearance of his Kirchenandachten Lutheran church music started out on an unlimited spree. His first cycle of cantata texts came out in 1700, written for the court at Weissenfels, where the opera was flourishing. With these libretti, free scriptural paraphrases intended for recitative and aria, Neumeister brought the most secular model of all into the realm of sacred music. Reactions were prompt and vigorous. The Pietists saw in it an act of desecration.

ration. The orthodox Lutherans, on the other hand, regarded it as "the consecration of secular music, since they did not conceive the sacred and secular spheres as opposed." 6. In his preface, Neumeister suggested that a church cantata should look just like a piece out of an opera, but that it was sanctified by being dedicated to the glory of God. With this, Luther would certainly have agreed in principle. 7.

It is undeniable that the Neumeister 'reform', which had come to stay, was able to meet a real need of the people; but it is "the old story of the people's song declining as the art-song flourishes." 8. In the third and the fourth of his five cantata cycles, Neumeister made concessions by introducing texts directly from the chorales and the Bible, but even so, the wholesale transfer of the dramatic style to church music was fraught with dangers, as well as possessing great possibilities. Bach, by the sheer force of his genius and the strength of his faith, succeeded in developing the possibilities to the fullest extent, and in turning aside the dangers from the Church he served and loved. 9.

Notes: 1. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 23, 547: Schon bei seinen Lebzeiten wurde ihm von befreundeter Seite der Vorwurf nicht erspart, dass er sogar in seinen geistlichen Liedern die Angriffe gegen die Pietisten nicht lassen könne, dagegen ist es zumeist unbeachtet geblieben,

dass er selbst mit dem Apparate der pietistischen Liederdichter arbeite und dass er sich öfter durch mystisch angehauchte Bilder und Vergleiche, durch die Innigkeit der Empfindung, süßliche Sentimentalität und eine stark entwickelte Subjectivität dem mystischen Andachtsliede der Spenerischen Richtung näherte.

2. Spitta, I, 479 and 472.

3. Terry, II, No. 406, Ach, dass ich die letzte Stunde. Hymn, by Erdmann Neumeister, in six 8-line stanzas (1717). Melody, by Bach (1736).

4. Württemberg GB, No. 556:

Str. 7.

So will ich für allen Segen
Lob und Ehre, Preis und Dank
Dir zu deinen Füßen legen
Und es thun mein Leben lang;
Bis ich mit den Engeln dort
Vor dir jauchze fort und fort.

5. Luther's Bible, Ps. 74¹⁶; Tag und Nacht
ist dein; du machst, dass beides Sonne und Gestirn ihren
gewissen Lauf haben.

Württemberg GB, No 583:

Str. 9.

Hat mich bei meinen Wochentagen
Das liebe Kreuz auch mit besucht,
So gabst du auch die Kraft zu tragen;
Zudem, es ist voll Heil und Frucht
Durch deine Lieb, o Herr, zu mir,
Und darum dank ich auch dafür.

10.

So will ich jetzt im voraus preisen,
Was du mir künftige Woche gibst;
Du wirst es mit der That beweisen,
Dass du mich je und immer liebst
Und leitest mich nach deinem Rath,
Bis Leid und Zeit ein Ende hat.

6. Bukofzer, 267:

Spitta, I, 479: The Pietists were its most determined foes ... As if, in point of fact, the endeavour to express personal emotion on the boards of a theatre differed in essence from the transcendental subjectivity of the hymns of the Pietists themselves!

7. Blume, 181 - 182: - eine Kirchenkantate

sehe nicht anders aus "als ein Stück aus einer Opera, von Stylo recitativo und Arien zusammengesetzt," und er hat auch gleich die theologische Rechtfertigung dazu geliefert: "ob diese Art Gedichte, wenn sie gleich ihr Modell von theatralischen Versen erborget, nicht dadurch geheiligt, indem sie zur Ehre Gottes gewidmet wird?" Das war eine durchaus im Geiste Luthers gedachte Begründung des Fortschritts. Dennoch fand die neue Gattung zahlreiche Gegner.

8. Dickinson, 266: False tastes crept into the Church. The homely vigour and forthrightness of the Lutheran hymn seemed to the shallow, critical spirits of the day rough, prosaic and repellent, and they began to smooth out and polish, and supplant the chorale melodies and harmonies with the prettiness and languishing graces of the Italian cantilena ... It is the old story ... As the stern temper of the Lutheran era grew soft in an age of security and indifference, so the grand old chorale was neglected, and its performance grew perfunctory and cold.

9. Blume, 217: Über die evangelische Kirchenmusik nach Bach gibt es seit langem nur eine Meinung: dass sie im Vergleich mit den Leistungen früherer Zeiten einen Verfall darstellt.

168: Die Teilnahme am kirchlichen Leben liess nach. Mit der Philosophie der Aufklärung und der "natürlichen Theologie" sind weltliche Kunstformen, Dichtung und Musik in die Kirche eingedrungen.

4: Erst die Aufklärung und die rationalistische Theologie haben die Künste in der Kirche zu beiläufigem Schmuck verfallen lassen, die kirchenmusikalische Entwicklung von der Entwicklung der kirchlichen Ideen gelöst und damit alle "moderne" Musik ins Weltliche verwiesen.

4. OLD WINE IN NEW BOTTLES 1.

<u>C.F. GELLERT.</u>	1715 - 1769
<u>J.A. CRAMER and</u>	1723 - 1788
<u>FRIEDRICH KLOPSTOCK</u>	1724 - 1803

THE FIRST THREE CANTOS of Klopstock's Messias appeared in the Bremer Beyträge in 1748, while J.S. Bach was still alive, and spelt disaster for the journal that published them. In less than twenty years, a good deal had happened in the German literary world. In 1730, Gottsched's Critische Dichtkunst had superseded Opitz's Buch von der deutschen Poeterey; but "the catchword 'nature' was not in itself sufficient to effect a reform in literature," 2. which demanded revitalization from within rather than from without. A rush of fresh air from Switzerland had succeeded in bringing this about; imagination and sensitivity were at last allowed to override rules, and the way lay open for poetic genius to break free.

Both in Germany and in Switzerland, the general feeling of change brought attempts in the Reformed Church to be rid of Lobwasser's Psalter, which had dominated hymnody for so long. Neander pointed the way, but the Lobwasser version held its ground until as late as 1798, when Matthias Jorissen, preacher to the German congregation at the Hague, produced one which effectively dislodged it. Meanwhile, in

some Reformed areas, J.A. Cramer's Poetische Übersetzung der Psalmen was substituted for it. 3. Johann Andreas Cramer, one of the founders of the Bremer Beyträge, came to be known as "der durchaus Gute", and his writings were widely acclaimed, in spite of Lessing's unfavourable judgments on them. As a literary-historical figure, he occupies a position somewhere between his friends Gellert and Klopstock.

We find the trend of religious thought at this time described in strange terms. 4. Cramer was a 'moderate neologist', that is to say, he indulged in guarded theological rationalizing. But both the writer of religious lyrics and the common man reading them for his own edification were in grave danger of having little left in which to believe. 5. The words Tugend and Nächstenliebe acquired a certain magical quality; they became a kind of 'open sesame' to earthly bliss. It was all rather too smooth and easy. Religion was beginning to mix the ghost of Luther's faith with a pseudo-philosophic system of optimistic clichés, in a comfortable compromise. Thus Cramer was able to write:

Schön, göttlich ist die Tugend
Und meines Eifers werth!
Ihr folgen reine Freuden,
Und wer, was Gott will, thut,
Hat selbst in seinen Leiden
Zufriedenheit und Muth. 6.

The satisfaction of being virtuous became the mark of the Christian, allowing him to improve the old songs

of the Church. Cramer tried his hand at it; so did Klopstock. Whether they were verbessert or verwässert by the process is largely a matter of opinion. Where Martin Schalling had written:

Mein Gott und Herr,
In Schanden lass mich nimmermehr,

Klopstock wrote:

Mein Herr und Gott,
Ein Schlummer sey mir einst der Tod. 7.

Klopstock's interest in the Psalter was predominantly the poet's interest in language. Having perceived the aesthetic value of the ancient lyrics, he discovered what he most needed in their free rhythms, and these he made an integral part of his writing. 8. For the expression of his religious individuality, he evolved a new linguistic style with new metrical forms. In him, subjectivity became for the first time a principle of poetic form. 9. But his religious feeling was as deep and as real as his feeling for poetry. For Klopstock alone, amongst the significant figures of the new literature, religion and poetry were inseparable. For him, the noblest endowment of the human spirit was its capacity not only to love God, but to think God - something which Luther and his circle had given up trying to do. 10.

What Gunkel meant when he classified a psalm as a Hymnus, has already been explained. Klopstock, like some of the psalmists, wrote Hymnen. Many of them lost their

way in religious abstractions, but one at least broke powerfully through to the Klarheit which was a central article of his poetic belief. Die Frühlingsfeier has a passage which was almost certainly taken from Ps. 29, the thunderstorm psalm, one of the great hymns of the Psalter, and one of the very oldest. In the Hebrew poem, the voice of the Lord of Nature is heard speaking with sole authority above the sea, shattering the spreading Lebanon cedars, and rolling on across the desert of Kadesh-Barnea in the south. The wilderness shakes as Yahweh passes by, "and in his temple everyone saith: 'Glory'." 11. Klopstock's world comes unscathed through a temporary overshadowing. The Almighty who rides the storm is the All-Kind. 12.

To Luther, in 1505, this God had shown himself as the All-Terrible. At the celebration of his first Mass as a priest, he had been overwhelmed by dread of the holy: "Who am I, that I should lift up mine eyes or raise my hands to the divine Majesty?" Memory of the terror remained with him. In 1521 he wrote to the Archbishop of Mainz: "The same God is still alive ... This is the God who breaks the cedars of Lebanon and humbles the hardened Pharaohs." 13. In Klopstock's thunderstorm, there is "one last already indistinct echo of the Reformation motif", and he has completely forgotten the men of the Baroque. 14.

Attention has already been drawn to Gellert's

fondness for the Psalter. 15. Perhaps the best-known of all his verses is Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur. The philosopher-rhetorician of Leipzig could certainly handle words, but he lacked Klopstock's poetic fire. His treatment of Ps. 19, Die Himmel erzählen die Ehre Gottes, gives an insight into the temper of the time and into the mind of the man. The Hebrew Ps. 19 divides into two distinct parts of different date. The first adapts Babylonian sun-mythology to the worship of Yahweh; the second, a meditation on the perfection of Yahweh's law, with a sevenfold repetition of his Name, is evidently a later addition designed to counteract the pagan undertones of the first. 16. Nowhere in the Hebrew psalm does Yahweh speak in his own person; but in Gellert's verses he does, and it is hard to resist the impression that the countless stars and the hosts of creatures are a stage setting, elaborately devised for the entrance of God, in order that he may deliver a divine homily on moral behaviour. Gellert's poem is really a commentary on the second part of the psalm rather than the first. He names the God of Nature by the attributes which proclaim him supreme; he is the Eternal, a God of Order, and Power, and Wisdom, a deity to be comprehended in the abstract. But he is also 'thy Creator, thy God and Father eternally, thy Salvation', sufficiently personal to be loved. And this Gellert's God demands of his creatures, if they are to enjoy his favour:

Mich liebe von ganzen Gemüte,
Und nimm an meiner Gnade teil?

It was still some time before Kant's Kritik der reinen Vernunft broke down the old metaphysics and supplanted Leibnitz, and Wolff, and the Neologists. When it did, Klopstock became an angry opponent of the great Königs-berg thinker, "who shook the German people out of their complacent rationalism, and taught them ideals of thought and conduct hitherto undreamt-of in the philosophy of the eighteenth century". 17. It would be difficult to find a more excellent paraphrase of the essence of Ps. 19 than Kant's celebrated saying: "Two things fill the mind with ever-renewed wonder and reverence the more often and persistently thought is occupied with them: the star-lit heavens above me, and the moral law within me." But this is Ps. 19 with a difference which separates it from nearly everything that went before. In the modern world, "reference to the divine is likely to be in terms of immanence rather than of transcendence". 18. Modern Germany, however, and with modern Germany the modern world, began not with Immanuel Kant but with Martin Luther. 19. This has been a study of tensions, but not of a dichotomy, for behind both men was the eternal and indivisible truth of a progressive revelation which each in his own way was able to make clearer to men. 20.

Notes:

1. Kaiser, 37: Das pompöse dogmatische Gebäude der Orthodoxie wird verlassen und die religiöse Lehre unter den Zentralbegriffen der Vernunft und Erfahrung neu organisiert, wobei der theologische Bestand an Verfügbarkeit und Wirksamkeit zu gewinnen scheint: Der alte Wein wird in neue Schläuche gefüllt.

2. Robertson, 249.

3. Julian, 1545, Nos 69 and 72:

Poetische Uebersetzung der Psalmen. Leipzig (1755-1764).

By J.A. Cramer. These versions are very free, and were not originally intended for church use.

Neue Bereimung der Psalmen, bestimmt für die reformierten deutschen Gemeinen im Grafen Haag und Amsterdam. Wesel, 1798 (Wernigerode). By Matthias Jorissen. This was written to replace Lobwasser's version.

4. Schneider, 171: Er (Cramer) huldigt dem anthropozentrischen Utilitarismus, der Gottes Verdienst darin erblickt, dass der Mensch durch ihn ernährt und erfreut wird.

Kaiser, 15: - und Klopstock, der ebenso orthodox sein soll wie Gerhardt, ist offenbarungsgläubiger Aufklärer.

112: Selbst gemässigte Neologen wie Alberti und Cramer, der sich dabei eine Abfuhr durch Lessings ironisch gemeinten orthodoxen Eifer gefallen lassen muss, verlangen, dass die Christenlehre mit der natürlichen Religion beginnen solle.

5. Kaiser, 85 - 86: Luther glaubt an Gott, und das ist nach seiner Meinung des Menschen einzige Tugend; die Neologen glauben an die Tugend des Menschen, und deshalb werden ihnen Tugend und Religion gleichbedeutend. Der Mensch wird zum Selbsttäter und das Menschentum erhebt sich aus der Verlorenheit in der Sünde zum Ideal der Selbstverwirklichung.

Schneider, 170: Bei der fortschreitenden starken Verflachung des religiösen Empfindens hatte man damals bereits kein Verständnis mehr für die Mystik in der geistlichen Lyrik der Barockzeit, aber auch keins mehr für die ungebrochene Kraft des streitbaren lutherischen Kirchenliedes.

6. Württemberg GB, No. 466.

7. Kaiser, 59. See also 118, on Klopstock's Bearbeitung of Nicolai's Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern.

8. Schneider, 126: Klopstock, der seine Oden-

dichtung in Nachahmung des Horaz begann, fand bald in den Psalmen einen neuen Eingebungsquell. Sie gewinnen in der ihnen durch Luthers Übertragung zuteil gewordenen sprachmächtigen Erhabenheit einen steigenden Einfluss auf seine Lyrik.

128: Diese in Anlehnung an die Psalmen und an griechische Vorbilder von ihm neu erfundenen Versmasse in unsere Dichtung eingeführt zu haben, gehört zu seinen grossen bleibenden Verdiensten.

9. Schneider, 118: Damit wird, von einem spärlichen Vorläufertum im Barock abgesehen, die Subjektivität zum erstenmal in unserer Dichtung poetisches Gestaltungsprinzip.

10. Kaiser, 27: Der Barockmensch ist als Christ "zufällig" Dichter; der Moderne als Dichter "zufällig" Christ. Für Klopstock allein unter den grossen Gestalten der neueren deutschen Literatur sind religiöse und dichterische Ergriffenheit untrennbar eins. Er vollendet sich als Dichter, weil er Christ ist, und als Christ, weil er Dichter ist.

40 - 41: Für Klopstock ist das edelste Gut des Menschen, grösser als seine Freiheit, die Gabe Gott zu lieben und - Gott zu denken ... Das Wissen von Gott ist tiefer als jede auf menschliche Gegenstände gerichtete Wissenschaft, weil es unmittelbar mit dem Selbstbewusstsein verknüpft ist.

See also under Martin Luther, Note 61,
The Cloud of Unknowing.

11. Oesterley, 200.

Luther's Bible, Ps. 29:

3. Die Stimme des Herrn gehet auf den Wassern; der Gott der Ehren donnert, der Herr auf grossen Wassern.

5. Die Stimme des Herrn zerbricht die Cedern; der Herr zerbricht die Cedern auf Libanon.

8. Die Stimme des Herrn erregt die Wüste, die Stimme des Herrn erregt die Wüste Kades.

12. Kemp, 337:

Seht ihr den Zeugen des Nahen, den Zückenden Strahl?

Hört ihr Jehovas Donner? ...

Herr! ... Herr! ... Gott!

Barmherzig, und gnädig! ...

Seht ihr den neuen Zeugen des Nahen, den fliegenden Strahl?

Hört ihr hoch in der Wolke den Donner des Herrn?

Er ruft: Jehova, Jehova, Jehova!

Und der geschmetterte Wald dampft.

Aber nicht unsre Hütte! ...

In stillem, sanftem Säuseln

Kommt Jehova,

Und unter ihm neigt sich der Bogen des Friedens.

Compare Luther's Bible, 1. Könige, 19¹¹⁻¹²:

Und siehe, der Herr ging vorüber und ein grosser starker Wind, der die Berge zerriss, und die Felsen zerbrach, vor dem Herrn her, der Herr aber war nicht im Winde. Nach dem Winde aber kam ein Erdbeben, aber der Herr war nicht im Erdbeben.

Und nach dem Erdbeben kam ein Feuer, aber der Herr war nicht im Feuer. Und nach dem Feuer kam ein stilles sanftes Sausen.

Kaiser, 78: Gereinigt und gerettet überstehen Erde und Menschheit das Gericht, und über ihnen wölbt sich der Bogen des Friedens. Auferstehung ist die Antwort auf Gericht und Tod. Heil geht Klopstocks Welt aus flüchtiger Verschattung hervor. ... Der Allmächtige ist der Allgütige. Das Gewitter, das Zerstörung scheinen könnte, ist Segensfülle.

13. Bainton, 153 (M).

14. Kaiser, 75: Es handelt sich bei Klopstock nur um einen allerletzten und schon verschwommenen Nachklang des reformatorischen Motivs.

78, footnote 94: Die aufklärerisch-neologische Darstellung des Gewitters ... hebt sich scharf ab von den im Barock weitverbreiteten Notliedern bei Gewitter, die Gott als den Gott des Grimms schildern.

Kemp, 231, Andreas Gryphius, Quantas ostendisti:
Reiss, Erde! reiss entzwei! ihr Berge, brecht und decket
Den ganz verzagten Geist,
Den Blitz und Ach und Not und Angst und Weh erschrecket
Und herbe Wehmut beisst!
Ihr immer-lichten, steter Himmel Lichter!
Ach, bescheinet meine Glieder, ach, bescheint die Glieder
Die der Donnerkeil der Schmerzen, die die Kraft der Angst
zerbricht!
Gott, guter Gott! nur mir zu strenger Richter!
Was lasset mich dein Grimm nicht sehen!

15. See under Martin Schalling, Note 6.
16. Oesterley, 167 - 170.
17. Robertson, 362.
18. Robinson, 193.
19. Fife, 655: "Modern France dates from May 5, 1789; modern Germany dates from the appearance of Luther before the Diet of Worms."
Quoting the French Catholic scholar, Paquier, in L'Humanisme et la Réforme.
20. Baeck, 106 - 107: Alles Religiöse hat seine Paradoxie ... Das Gefühl des Abstandes und das der Zugehörigkeit, Jenseits und Diesseits schliessen sich darin zusammen; beides ist darin: die Empfindung des Fernen und des Nahen, des Erhabenen und des Vertrauten, des Grenzenlosen und des Eigenen, des Unendlichen und des Innigen, des Geheimnisses und des Offenbarenden, die Zuversicht des Wunders und des Gesetzes ... Die israelitische Religiosität empfindet die Einheit von diesem beiden. Alles, was die Worte Jenseitigkeit und Innewohnen, Transcendenz und Immanenz ausdrücken wollen, ist nur ein begriffliches Gleichnis für die beiden Seiten dieser Paradoxie.

PART THREE:

SOME ASPECTS

OF

GERMAN PSALM-MUSIC

1. KONTRAFAKTUR

IT IS REALLY small wonder that the second half of the eighteenth century neglected the music of Bach, whose mysticism it failed to understand, and with whose orthodoxy it was out of tune. Christian Fürchtegott Gellert's sphere of influence extended far beyond local German Protestantism, and can be explained only in terms of the general spirit of his time, for which moral edification amounted almost to a creed. 1. He spoke of Lehroden and of Oden fürs Herz, as distinct one from the other. In the latter, he demanded (theoretically at least) that the language should be lively, even fiery, "doch stets verständlich", by which he meant something more than merely 'intelligible'. 2. Of greatest moment here is his view that 'odes for the heart' require a musical setting, that they should be written for singing. He himself put this into practice, to the extent that he made new texts to fit the melodies of church hymns then in current use. 3. But Gellert was so unalterably an academic teacher, that the most unsingable instruction was never far below the surface, and indeed often intruded where he did not intend it to show. 4.

Gellert was here employing a variant of the device known as Kontrafaktur, by which the scope of Protestant church music had been greatly widened. The rather curious pre-Reformation practice of calling upon one voice part

to sing sacred words against some popular bawdy ditty in another voice, could scarcely have led to anything but chaos. Yet this same principle was closely paralleled by Bach, on an infinitely higher plane, in the cantatas. The more fruitful practice of putting texts of a religious nature to tunes already popular through their secular associations, or of shaping religious paraphrases of well-known songs, assumed considerable proportions in the sixteenth century. It was of no great consequence whether the melodies so appropriated were sacred or profane. In any case, German musicians almost invariably borrowed their themes from older sources, and nobody was upset by such forms of plagiarism. The free invention of melodies did not properly begin until towards the close of the century, and by the time church composers were ready to invent, the technique of wholesale Kontrafaktur was already declining.

The precedent for such methods was ancient. It is now generally believed that the titles of some numbers in the Psalter indicate the melodies to which they were to be sung. And these titles evoke images of a singing people whose worship gained meaning from the sunrise, and the life of creatures, and the circling seasons. "We cannot reject the supposition that many psalms were sung to secular melodies." 5.

Amongst a number of others, two wonderful

German chorales had similar origins. Heinrich Isaac was in Innsbruck for a while in 1484, on his way to Italy. Years afterwards, he returned as the Emperor Maximilian's court composer. In Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen, he created a song unique amongst contemporary Lieder. The tune itself may have been derived from one already in existence, but Isaac's handling of it was exceptional. The first setting he made of it was probably meant as an instrumental piece, with the melody appearing in canon between tenor and alto; in the second and more famous setting, he placed the melody in the uppermost voice, and broke the customary smooth flow of his music by inserting pauses at the end of phrases, in the manner of a Bach chorale. It was not long before the song acquired a religious text:

O Welt, ich muss dich lassen,
ich fahr dahin mein Strassen
ins ew'ge Vaterland.
Mein Geist will ich aufgeben,
dazu mein Leib und Leben
befehl'n in Gottes gnäd'ge Hand. 6.

By Bach's time, two Gerhardt hymns were being sung to it, O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben, and Nun ruhen alle Wälder; and it was used as well for Paul Fleming's In allen meinen Thaten. 7. It is one of the most remarkable examples of Kontrafaktur. 8.

Secular polyphony combining German and Italian qualities accounts for another, in the five-part love song

by Hans Leo Hassler, Mein G'müt ist mir verwirret. Its metamorphosis into Gerhardt's O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden is extremely complex and not entirely clear, as there is so much subtle interweaving of influences in the process. The song appeared in Hassler's Lustgarten of 1601, and a few years later the 'superius' was given a sacred text, Herzlich thut mich verlangen nach einem sel'gen End. The tune was taken over by the Catholics for the Latin hymn Salve caput cruentatum, which in turn was paraphrased in German by Gerhardt. 9. "In the course of the seventeenth century, numerous chorale melodies were added to the body of traditional tunes, notably by Johann Crüger ... The interactions between secular models and sacred contrafacta on the one hand, and Protestant and Catholic repertory on the other, were very lively throughout the entire period." 10. In Bach's four-part chorales, Hassler's tune is harmonized with incredible richness and variety, not only to Christoph Knoll's hymn and Gerhardt's translation of the Latin, but also to Gerhardt's Befiehl du deine Wege, the fine hymn on Ps. 37, and his Wie soll ich dich empfangen? In addition, Bach used it for the lines by Cyriakus Schneegass, Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder. 11.

The practice of Kontrafaktur did persist, to produce a good many important hymns; but the period in which it flourished most prolifically was the sixteenth century, and it was the immediate need for the Protestant Reformation

to possess songs which could be sung by the priesthood of believers, that supplied the vigorous incentive. 12. Musically, it represented a period of change from the traditions ecclesiastical 'modality' to the new 'tonality', and the emergence of the composer as an independently creative artist. The art of Kontrafaktur was revitalized by Luther, in his search for a way of presenting the Evangel to the people so that it might live in their hearts and on their tongues, and spontaneously fire them with its own truth. The extent of his success is one of the most amazing things about his altogether amazing activity. 13.

In his great "Liederjahr" (1523-1524), Luther fashioned 'the inviolable nucleus' of Protestant hymnody in Germany. It is well to remember that he had begun his life as a man of religion in an Augustinian priory, and that, when it came to matters of music, he was no doubt influenced by what the saint had said. 14. Augustine's self-communing on the delights of the ear holds one highly significant turn of phrase: he speaks of "those melodies which Thy words breathe soul into". In the Tischreden, Luther mentions music as "one of the best arts", for "the notes give life to the text." 15. Because Josquin des Prés could make the notes obey him, whereas the expressiveness of other musicians was shackled by them, Luther held Josquin in high regard. But so far as his own musical Schaffen is concerned, it is true

that his saying, "die Noten machen den Text lebendig", works the other way round; in the Augustinian sense of the Word's breathing life into the melodies. While quite deliberately and unashamedly practising Kontrafaktur, he was at the same time a musical inventor, whose deep religious purpose made the notes do what he wanted them to do.

The degree to which Luther exercised any originality in supplying tunes for the Kernlieder, remains in dispute. Some writers state quite bluntly that none of the melodies was original; others allow that he had a share in forming them. It seems quite clear, however, that he thought of the melodies to his Psalmlieder as in some way particular and apart, and that he personally devoted a good deal of time and effort to them. For the early group of six, no direct musical prototypes have been established, 16. but Ludwig Finscher's comments on the first of them are illuminating. 17. Of the last great Psalmlied, separated from the others not only in time, but also by its characteristic vehemence and intensity, little more can be said than that it has 'Gregorian reminiscences'. 18. Aside from such possible references, Luther effectively concealed any borrowing. It would perhaps be truer to say that, having absorbed the melodies fitting his requirements, he created his own, one from which the words took brilliance, and to which in return they gave it.

With an unerring instinct for what was absolute

ely right, the Church drew these two psalm-songs into the centre of its liturgical life. Between Luther's flexible unison and the isometric colour harmonies of Bach, came setting after setting, for the enrichment of an apparently inexhaustible musical literature.¹⁹.

Notes:

1. Klinkhardt, 340: So wurden der Mensch und seine moralischen Forderungen nicht nur im protestantischen Bereich, sondern auch im süddeutschen und österreichischen katholischen Raum zum Vorbild für den einfachen Mann wie für den Gebildeten. Was seinen Mitbürgern wichtig war oder was ihnen wichtig erscheinen sollte, darüber sprach und davon lehrte er.

326: Gellert will durch die Macht der Dichtung den Menschen bilden und erziehen, wie denn überhaupt die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts ein Glaube des Jahrhunderts war.

2, 3. Klinkhardt, 339: Dass der Verstand in den Liedern unterrichtet und geführt werde, ist eine sehr notwendige Pflicht, wenn man die unrichtigen Begriffe, die sich die Menge von der Religion macht, den Mangel der Kenntnisse in den Wahrheiten derselben und die täglichen Zerstreuungen bedenkt ... Gellerts Ansicht, die Oden fürs Herz verlangten Vertonung und müssten gesungen werden, ist zum Teil von ihm selbst dadurch verwirklicht worden, dass er die Texte auf Melodien von damals gesungenen Kirchenliedern schrieb. Dass darüber hinaus durch Beethovens Vertonung ein halbes Dutzend unsterblich geworden ist, würde ihm als glückliche Fügung und Gnade Gottes erscheinen.

4. Klinkhardt, 340: Die Übergänge zwischen den Oden fürs Herz und den Lehreden sind trotz Gellerts Ausführungen fließend, manches wirkt für uns fast schon lehrmässig, obwohl es aus Gellerts überzeugtem religiösem Empfinden, aus seinem Gemüt entstanden ist.

5. Dickinson, 31.

Pss. 8, 81, 84.

Oesterley, 9-19, The Titles of the Psalms: 'For the Wine-presses'; the melody of a vintage-song, sung when the grapes were trodden out.

Ps. 22.

According to 'The Hind of the Dawn'; in all probability the name of a well-known song.

Pss. 45, 60, 69, 80.

To 'Anemones'; or to 'The Lily of Witness'.

Ps. 56.

To 'The Dove of the far-off Terebinths'.

Ps. 57.

To 'Destroy it not'; evidently taken from the opening of a popular vintage-song ... quoted in Isa. 65: "As the new wine is found in the cluster, and one saith, 'Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it'."

6. See Reese, 643.

Johannes Brahms, Eleven Chorale Preludes for the Organ (Op. 122), No. XI, to this text.

7. Terry, II, Nos. 300-309.

8. Blume, 20: Vielleicht die längste Kontrafakturgeschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik hat schliesslich Heinrich Isaacs berühmte Diskantweise "Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen" gehabt, die im 16. Jahrhundert mit "O Welt, ich muss dich lassen" (vielleicht von Johann Hees), im 17. Jahrhundert mit Paul Gerhards "Nun ruhen alle Wälder" (das am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts wiederum von Otto Julius Bierbaum kontrafiziert wurde) und im 18. Jahrhundert mit Matthias Claudius' "Der Mond ist aufgegangen" verbunden wurde, der sprechendste Beleg für die Lebenskraft und Fruchtbarkeit ebenso wie für die Ausdrucks-Vieldeutigkeit einer gleichwohl grossen, in sich vollkommenen Liedweise, für die Grundbedingungen also, die der evangelischen Liedkontrafaktur ihre ungeheure Wirkung und Verbreitung ermöglicht haben.

9. Blume, 20: Schon in die Spätzeit des Kontrafakturliedes gehört auch Christoph Knolls "Herzlich tut mich verlangen", das vielleicht auf Hans Leo Hasslers "Mein Gott ist mir verwirret" (1601) gedichtet, jedenfalls aber dessen fünfstimmigen Satz 1613 unterlegt wurde. Johann

Crüger hat die Melodie danach in seiner Praxis pietatis melica (Auflage von 1656) für Paul Gerhards "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" verwendet. Gerhardt's Nachdichtung des bernhardinischen Hymnus "Salve, caput cruentatum" bietet damit eins der wenigen Beispiele, wo ein inhaltlich neues Lied mit Sicherheit nicht auf die Weise erfunden ist, mit der es später verbunden wurde, sondern nur einem verbreiteten Strophenschema folgt, das die Kombination mit einer landläufigen Melodie gestattet.

10. Bukofzer, 80.

11. Terry, I, Nos. 158-168.

12. Blume, 18: Neu waren Intensität und Ausmass des Vorgangs, mit dem sich die Reformation nun der geistigen Waffe allbekannter Weisen bediente und sich ihr Repertoire erweiterte. Luther gab auch hier den Anstoss und die Begründung, indem er meinte, der Teufel brauche nicht alle schönen Melodien für sich allein zu besitzen.

13. Blume, 21: Das evangelische Kontrafaktlied lebte aus der Kraft und Beliebtheit seiner Weisen und von der Aktualität seiner neuen Texte.

27: Zwar reichten manche der Zeitgenossen an den Liedschöpfer Luther heran; Übertreffen konnten sie ihn nicht. Aus seinem begeisterten Herzen quollen die Lieder in starkem Strom, die evangelische Wahrheit verkündend und der Lehre eine Bresche schlagend, wie es keine Predigt und kein Schriftwerk tat. Von jesuitischer Seite konnte mit Recht gesagt werden, Luthers Lieder hätten "mehr Seelen umgebracht, als seine Schriften und Reden."

14. Confessions, Book X, (XXXIII) 50:
Yet again, when I remember the tears I shed at the Psalmody of Thy Church, in the beginning of my recovered faith; and how at this time, I am moved, not with the singing, but with the things sung, when they are sung with a clear voice and modulation most suitable, I acknowledge the great use of this institution. Thus I fluctuate between peril of pleasure, and approved wholesomeness; inclined the rather (though not as pronouncing an irrevocable opinion) to approve of the usage of singing in the church, that so by the delight of the ears, the weaker minds may rise to the feeling of devotion. Yet when it befalls me to be more moved with the voice than the words sung, I confess to have sinned penally, and then had rather not hear music.

15. Hazlitt, 340, DCCCXL.

16. Blume, 26: Für die Weisen gerade dieser Psallieder lassen sich direkte musikalische Vorbilder nicht nachweisen; Luthers Anteil an der Melodiegestaltung scheint besonders gross zu sein.

17. Blume, 25: Das berühmteste Beispiel für Einzelanklänge, die bewusste "Kompositionshilfen" oder unbewusste Reminiszenzen sein mögen, bietet der Anfang von Luthers phrygischer Weise zu "Aus tiefer Not", dessen Tonbewegung h - e - h - (e - h) einerseits eine Grundwendung phrygischer Melodiebildung zu sein scheint, andererseits aus einem Marien-Lied Frauenlobs, den Anfängen der französischen Chanson "Petite Camusette", ... der Josquin-Motette "Petre tu pastor", des deutschen Tenorliedes "Meins Trauens ist" (Hofhalmer), des Hugenotten-Psalms "Tes jugements. Dieu veritable" (Clement Marot), der Chanson "Au bois, au bois, ma dame" von Pierre Moulu und aus anderen Zusammenhängen bekannt ist. Dass Luther die Verbindung des fallenden Quintsprungs mit der "threnodischen" Sekunde h - e - h in tonasymbolischer Absicht einsetzte, lässt sich nicht strikt beweisen.

18. Schweitzer, I, 16.

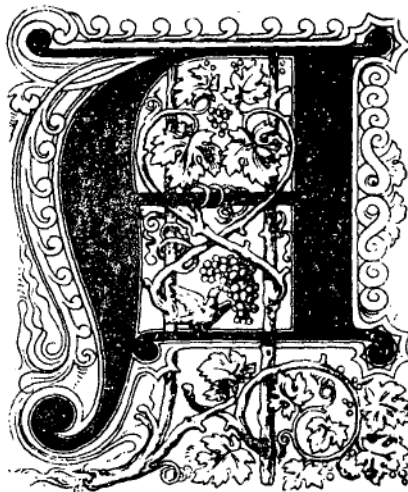
19. Blume, 27: Das eben ist der entscheidende Grundgedanke des evangelischen Liedes, dass es selbst Schriftwort, nicht dessen Ersatz, dass es Bestandteil der Liturgie, nicht deren Anhängsel ist. Musikalisch wird diese fundamentale Tatsache insofern bedeutend, als mit diesen Liedertexten nun auch die Weisen liturgisch und damit sakrosankt wurden.

26: Die Melodie zu dem wahrscheinlich zwischen 1526 und 1528 entstandenen Psallied "Ein feste Burg" schliesslich stammt sicherlich von Luther, und ungeachtet aller Einzelanlehnungen mancher melodischer Wendungen an Melodietypen oder direkte Vorbilder ist sie eins der grossartigsten Beispiele für die vollkommene Einheit von Wort und Ton und für die Geschlossenheit, Affektsättigung und Prägnanz der Melodiegestalt, die Luthers grösste Lieder zur mächtigsten Kraftquelle der Reformation gemacht und sie in die Unsterblichkeit grosser Kunstwerke gehoben haben.

XXVII.

Der CXXX. Psalm, De profundis clamavi ad te domine.

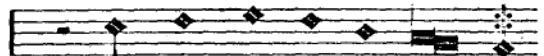
D. Mart Luther.



1525.



Us tief = fer not schrey ich zu dir,
Dein gne = dig oh = ren fer zu mir,



HERR Gott er = hör mein ruf = fen,
vnd mei = ner bit sie ðf = fen,



Denn so du wilt das se = hen an,



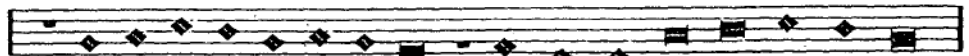
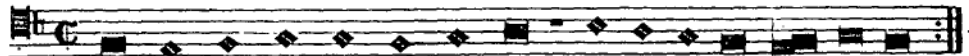
was sund vnd vn = recht ist gethan,



wer kann HERR für dir blei = ben?

II.

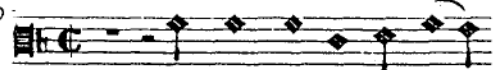
1537.
1544.



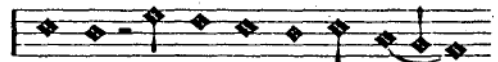
XXIII.

Der XLVI. Psalm. Deus noster refugium et virtus pp.

D. Mart. Luther.



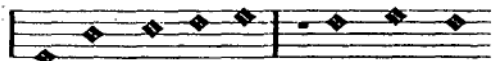
In fe = ste burg ist vn=
Er hilfft vns frey aus al =



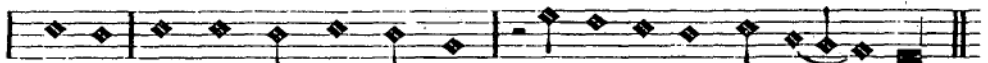
ser Gott, ein gu = te wehr vnd waf =
ler not, die vns izt hat be = trof =



fen, Der alt bö = se feind,
fen,



mit ernst ers izt meint, Gros macht vnd



viel list, sein grausam rü = stung ist, Auff erd ist nicht seins glei = chen.

In feste burg ist vnser Gott,
ein gute wehr vnd waffen,
Er hilfft vns frey aus aller not,
die vns izt hat betroffen,
Der alt böse feind,
mit ernst ers izt meint,
Gros macht vnd viel list,
sein grausam rüstung ist,
Auff erd ist nicht seins gleichen.

Mit vnser macht ist nichts gethan,
wir sind gar bald verloren,
Es streit für vns der rechte man,
den Gott hat selbst erkoren,
Fragstu wer der ist?
Er heisst Jesus Christ,
Der ZERR Zebaoth,
vnd ist kein ander Gott,
Das feld mus er behalten.

3. Auß tieffer noth schrey ich zu dir.

Psalm 130.

Auß tief - fer noth schrey ich zu dir/ Herr Gott er - hör mein ruf - fen/
 Dein gne - big Oh - ren sehr zu mir/ und mei - ner bitt sie öf - fen/
 Denn so du wilt das se - hen an/ was sind und un-recht ist ge-than/ wer kann, Herr, vor dir - blei - ben?

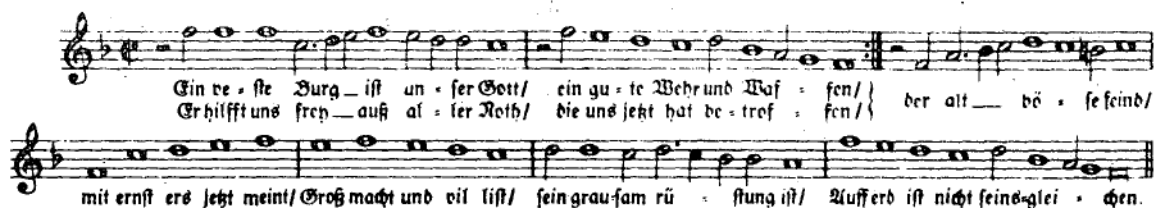
6
 Auß tief - fer noth schrey
 Auß tief - fer noth schrey ich zu dir/ Herr Gott er - hör mein ruf - fen/ er - hör
 Auß tief - fer noth schrey ich zu dir/ auß tief - fer noth schrey

12
 Auß tief - fer noth schrey ich zu dir/ Herr Gott er - hör mein ruf - fen/
 ich zu dir/ auß tief - fer noth schrey ich zu dir/ Herr Gott er -
 mein ruf - fen/ auß tief - fer noth schrey
 ich zu dir/ auß tief - fer noth

18
 er - hör mein ruf - fen/ auß tief - fer noth schrey ich zu dir/ Herr Gott er - hör mein
 hör mein ruf - fen/ Herr Gott er - hör mein ruf -
 ich zu dir/ schrey ich zu dir/ Herr Gott er - hör mein ruf - fen/ Herr Gott er - hör mein
 schrey ich zu dir/

1. Ein veste Burg ist unser Gott.

Psalm 46.



Ein - ste Burg - ist un - ser Gott/ ein gu - te Wehr und Waf - fen/ der alt - bö - se Feind/
 Erhilff uns frey - auß al - ler Noth/ die uns jezt hat be - trof - fen/ Aufferd ist nicht Feind - glei - chen.
 mit ernst ers jezt meint/ Groß macht und vil list/ sein grau - sam rü - stung ist/ Aufferd ist nicht Feind - glei - chen.



Sopran. *mp* Ein - ste Burg ist un - ser Gott/ 5 Ein -
 Alt. *mp* Ein - ste Burg ist un - ser Gott/ ist un - ser Gott/
 Tenor. *mp* Ein - ste
 Baß. *mp* Ein - ste



10
 — gu - te wehr und waf - fen/ ein gu - te wehr und waf -
 — ist un - ser Gott/ Ein gu - te wehr und
 Burg ist un - ser Gott/ *mf* Ein gu - te wehr und waf -
mp Ein - ste Burg - ist un - ser



15
 fen/ ein gu - te wehr und waf - fen/
 waf - fen/ ein gu - te wehr/ ein gu - te wehr - und waf -
 fen/ ein gu - te wehr und waf - fen/ ein -
 Gott/ *mf* Ein gu - te wehr und waf - fen/ *mp*

2. HEINRICH SCHÜTZ AND THE PSALTER

1585 - 1672

THE GERMAN PROTESTANT CHORALE had come into being, and whatever changes of fortune might assail the Reformation, the chorale would remain, as the audible voice of men with a new human dignity and a fuller realization of life's God-given design. Especially in the first and the last of his Psalmlieder, Luther showed men that they possessed the right of admission to full citizenship of the world, but that the right existed only by divine grace, and that the promise of salvation from the consequences of sin demanded the operative response of an act of faith. 1.

In a surprisingly short space of time after Luther's death, the 'peril of pleasure' which had so disturbed St. Augustine when he listened to music, was threatening the principles and the essential meaning of psalmody in the new Church. The unison chorale drew from all who took part in the singing of it the same individual expression of the community of belief which united them without distinction. The saying that "The Devil enters the church through the choir" is regrettably true, in that the congregation is compelled to be passively receptive instead of being actively engaged. The more freely intellectual and aesthetic pleasu-

res are allowed a place in worship, so much the more inevitably will the single mind of the worshippers be divided against itself. Calvin realized this. And it was the supreme achievement of Bach as a church composer, that he let the old chorale melodies make their direct appeal to the memoried love of all the people, in the chorale prelude and the cantata.

Not only the importance attached by Luther to the individual believer, and his liberal attitude towards secular life and art, but also his retention of ceremony and his wholesome respect for the traditional music of the Church, left a line of cleavage along which a split could most easily develop. And it came as a division of the religious body according to status and education, leaving Calvinism free to widen the fissure. 2. From the sixteenth century's fifties and sixties onwards, it was Luther's concept of a Weltfrömmigkeit 3. that was to dominate the music of the Reformation, and it became the destiny of the German chorale that it should have to battle its way back to being German again.

The Frenchman Calvin "lost no time in formulating a musical credo in keeping with the austere simplicity of his religious views ... During an era when polyphonic complexity and chordal innovation were prevalent, he remained hostile to part-singing, and sanctioned only single-line

melodies as psalm settings." 4. It is one of the fascinating ironies of musical history that certain German melodies played so important a part in this creed. 5. The responsibility for the melodic settings of the Genevan Psalter rested largely with Louis Bourgeois; concerning the celebrated four-part settings by Goudimel, it should be borne in mind that they were "intended for home use rather than for the service - important, in view of Calvin's insistence that music in the church be restricted to monophony." 6. Until forbidden to do so, Catholics too sang the tunes of Geneva, and the way in which they ran like a fire through Germany has already been described. 7.

Amongst the Venetian splendours of the multi-choral psalms of Heinrich Schütz, the four-part setting of Cornelius Becker's Psalter is like a little German orphan of the Thirty Years' War, strayed into some magnificent foreign court. And indeed, the work is unique in 'the ice-grey fathers' astounding musical production. 8. Schütz was entirely in sympathy with Becker's aim and intention, and where Becker had kept, unaltered, psalm texts which belonged to the Kernlieder of Lutheranism, he retained the old familiar melodies. 9. Becker's own versions he set to original melodies. A student turning the pages of this Psalter for the first time is struck by the apparent simplicity of the music; but let him attempt to play it through without any rhythmical

faltering, or to memorize it, and he soon becomes aware that there is still a good deal left to discover.

There is some support for the contention that this giant of massed choral writing could not invent singable tunes, and that, as a result, the Becker Psalter was not an unqualified success. 10. From the point of view of congregations hoping to join in, the melodies were difficult. This is true even of some of the traditional ones, as Schütz presented them. It would thus seem to be the case that he was not vitally concerned with the chorale in Luther's fundamental conception of it. But such a judgment ignores the real Schütz, Schütz the Worddichter, working always from the natural rhythmical flow of the words. And here "the frequently rough character of Becker's metre evoked the most characteristic features of the Schütz melodies: the vivacity and diversity of the rhythm." 11.

An unfeigned humility of mind is evident both in Schütz's attitude to the task of setting the Becker psalms and in the music itself. We may believe that, "although his official duties brought him into constant contact with the chorale, Schütz made it subservient to his personal artistic expression;" 12. but only in the sense that here he was making music from within a profoundly personal experience. For which reason he had a special affection for the "Wercklein". Reverence for the old chorales could never be more

aptly expressed than it was by Schütz, 13. but extensive congregational use of the melodies which he himself supplied could scarcely have been in his mind. They were written as Hausmusik, to be sung at private devotions by members of his family and those boys of the Dresden court chapel who were in his care. After the death of his wife, completion of the music was his consolation in grief ("eine Trösterin meiner Traurigkeit").

It is known from a prefatory note written by Jakob Weller, court preacher in Dresden, that congregations were made familiar with these psalms; and from order-of-service lists, that they were frequently sung as Introits. 14. It can be inferred, too, from the conclusion of Schütz's preface to the revised edition, that they were peculiarly a part of his deeply-felt concern for Germany's distress. The setting for Becker's Ps. 145, the rhythm and the melodic shape of which somehow manage to combine indestructible hope and boding apprehension, reveals Schütz the German as faithfully as do the Kleine geistliche Konzerte: 15.

Dein Gnad erhält uns vor dem Fall,
auf richtest du sie allzumal,
die nieder sind geschlagen ...

All die sich zu dem Herren nahn,
mit rechtem Ernst ihn rufen an,
die will er nicht verlassen.

The pressures and uncertainties of life through the drawn-out tragedy of the war, leave their mark

Psalm 130

1. Fassung

1. Aus tie-fer Not schrei ich zu dir, Herr Gott, er-hör mein Ru-fen, } Denn so du willst
dein gnä-dig Oh-ren fehr zu mir, und mei-ner Bitt sie öff-ne.

blei-ben?
das se-hen an, was Sünd und Un-recht ist ge-tan, wer kann, Herr, vor dir blei-ben?

2. Bei dir gilt nichts denn Gnad und Günst,
die Sünde zu vergeben,
es ist doch unser Tun umsonst
auch in dem besten Leben.
Vor dir niemand sich rühmen kann,
des muß dich fürchten jedermann
und deiner Gnaden leben.

3. Darum auf Gott will hoffen ich
auf mein Verdienst nicht bauen;
auf ihn mein Herz soll lassen sich
und seiner Gnade trauen,
die mir zusagt sein wertos Wort,
das ist mein Trost und treuer Hort,
des will ich allzeit harren.

4. Und ob es währt bis in die Nacht
und wieder an den Morgen,
doch soll mein Herz an Gottes Macht
verzweifeln nicht, noch sorgen.
So tu Israel rechter Art,
der aus dem Geist erzeugt ward
und seines Gottes erharre.

5. Ob bei uns ist der Sünden viel,
bei Gott ist viel mehr Gnade;
sein Hand zu helfen hat kein Ziel,
wie groß auch sei der Schade.
Er ist allein der gute Hirt,
der Israel erlösen wird
aus seinen Sünden allen.

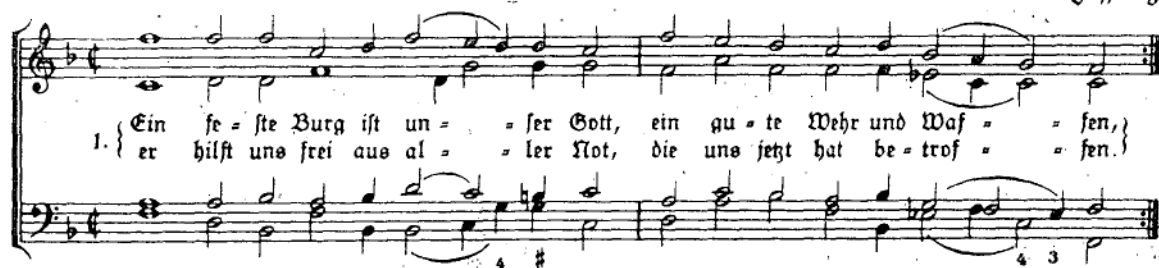
2. Fassung

1. Aus tie-fer Not schrei ich zu dir, Herr Gott, er-hör mein Ru-fen, } Denn so du willst
dein gnä-dig Oh-ren fehr zu mir, und mei-ner Bitt sie öff-ne.

blei-ben?
das se-hen an, was Sünd und Un-recht ist ge-tan, wer kann, Herr, vor dir blei-ben?

Psalm 46

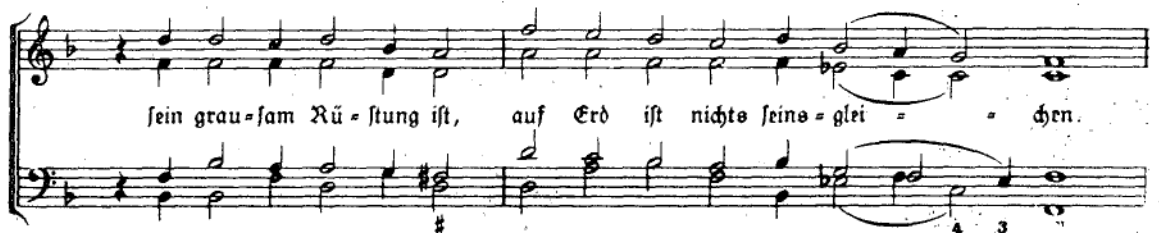
1. Fassung



1. { Ein fe = ste Burg ist un = = ser Gott, ein gu = te Wehr und Waf = = sen, }
er hilft uns frei aus al = = ler Not, die uns jetzt hat be = trof = = sen. }



Der al = = te bö = se Feind, mit Ernst ers eht meint, groß Macht und viel List



sein grau = sam Rü = stung ist, auf Erd ist nichts seins = glei = = chen.

2. Mit unser Macht ist nichts getan,
wir sind gar bald verloren,
es streit für uns der rechte Mann,
den Gott hat selbst erkoren.
Fragst du, wer der ist?
Er heißt Jesus Christ,
der Herr Zebaoth,
und ist kein ander Gott,
das Feld muß er behalten.

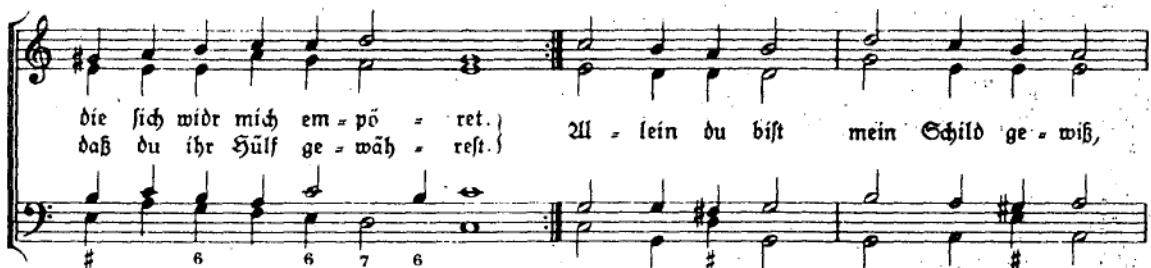
3. Und wenn die Welt voll Teufel wär,
und wollt uns gar verschlingen,
so fürchten wir uns nicht so sehr,
es soll uns doch gelingen,
der Fürst dieser Welt,
wie saur er sich stellt,
tut er uns doch nicht,
das macht, er ist gericht,
ein Wörtlein kann ihn fällen.

4. Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn
und kein Dank dazu haben,
er ist bei uns wohl auf dem Plan
mit seinem Geist und Gaben.
Nehmen sie uns den Leib,
Gut, Ehr, Rind und Weib,
laß fahren dahin,
sie habens kein Gewinn,
das Reich muß uns doch bleiben.

Psalm 3



1. Ach wie groß ist der Fein = de Rott, mein treu = er Gott,
Viel sa = gen zu der See = len mein, es Pönn nicht sein,



die sich wider mich em = pö = ret. } Al = lein du bist mein Schild ge = wiß,
daß du ihr Hülff ge = wä h = rest. }



mein Zu = ver = sicht, der mich auf = richt und hoch mich bringt zu Eh = ren.

2. Mit meiner Stimm ruf ich zu dir,
dein Hülff kommt mir
von deinem heiligen Throne.
Darum weil du, Herr, hältst mich,
schlaf und wach ich
ganz Furcht und Sorgen ohne,
ob gleich der Feind
viel tausend sind,
die rings herüm
mit Ungeßüm
grausam wider mich toben.

3. Auf, Herr, steh auf, beweis dein Kraft,
die mir Hülff schafft,
gib Backenstreich den Feinden,
zerschmetter der Gottlosen Zähne,
daß sie vergehn,
errett dein Volk und Gemeinde!
Du bist der Gott,
der hilfst aus Not
und Segen gibst
zu jeder Frist
dein Volk und lieben Freunden.

Psalm 137

1. An Was-ser-flüs-sen Ba-by-lon da sa-ßen wir mit Schmer-zen,
als wir ge-dach-ten an Zi-on, da wein-ten wir von Her-zen.

Wir hin-gen auf mit schwe-rem Mut die Har-fen und die Or-geln gut

an ih-re Bäum der Wei-den, die drin-nen sind in ih-rem Land,

da muß-ten wir viel Schmach und Schand täg-lich von ih-nen lei-den.

2. Die uns gefangen hielten lang
so hart an selben Orten,
begehrten von uns ein Gesang
mit gar spöttlichen Worten
und suchten in der Traurigkeit
ein frohen Gesang in unserm Leid:
ach Lieber, tut uns singen
ein Lobgesang, ein Liedlein schon
von den Gedichten aus Zion,
das fröhlich tut erklingen.

3. Wie sollen wir in solchem Zwang
und Elend, jetzt vorhanden,
dem Herren singen ein Gesang,
sogar in fremden Landen?
Jerusalem vergeß ich dein,
so wolle Gott, der Gerechte, mein
vergessen in meinem Leben.
Wir könn' nicht Freud erzwingen,
fröhliche Lieder singen,
da wir im Elend leben.

Psalm 145

1. Ich will sehr hoch er - hö - ren dich, mein Gott, — Kö - nig und Her - re, —
ich will dich lo - ben e - wig - lich, dein Na - men ge - ben Eh - re.

Dein Lob soll wer - den aus - ge - breitet, — ich will dich

lo - ben al - le - zeit, im - mer und e - wig - li - chen.

2. Der Herr ist groß und löblich sehr,
es kanns niemand aussprechen;
wie hoch sei unsers Gottes Ehr,
das wird kein Mensch ausrechnen,
Kindeskind preisen deine Werk,
sie rühmen dein Gewalt und Stärk,
ihrer wird nicht vergessen.

4. Man preise deine große Güt,
dein Gerechtigkeit Ruhm habe,
der Herr uns allzeit wohl behüt,
groß ist sein Treu und Gnade,
ohn Maß ist sein Barmherzigkeit,
geduldig, gütig allezeit,
sein Wahrheit hat kein Ende.

6. Die Ehre deines Königreichs
soll sehr gerühmet werden,
von deiner Macht reden zugleich
die Menschenkind auf Erden,
sie rühmen all von Herzen sehr
deins Königreichs Pracht und Ehr,
die ihnen kund ist worden.

7. Dein Herrschaft währet für und für,
ewig dein Reich bestehet,
allzeit steht auf der Gnaden Tür,
dadurch man zu dir gehet.
Dein Gnad erhält uns vor dem Fall,
auf richtest du sie allzumal,
die nieder sind geschlagen.

8. Auf dich warten mit ganzem Fleiß
aller Augen auf Erden,
durch deine Güte ihnen Speis
zu rechter Zeit muß werden.
Du tust auf deine milde Hand,
erfüllst, was lebt im ganzen Land,
alles mit Wohlgefallen.

9. Des Herren Wege sind gerecht,
heilig sind all sein Werke,
er ist nah beim elenden Geschlecht
und will sie kräftig stärken.
All die sich zu dem Herren nahn,
mit rechtem Ernst ihn rufen an,
die will er nicht verlassen.

on parts of the German Symphonias sacrae of 1647 as well. 16. But of these, there is one which must be mentioned for its sheer exuberance of joy at being alive. This is the Deutsches Konzert written in two parts, Ich werde nicht sterben. The text is made up entirely of psalm-passages selected by Schütz himself, and is as perfectly balanced as that put together by Brahms for the German Requiem. It is a delight to follow from Luther's Bible the way in which Schütz built it up. 17. It begins and ends with a verse from 'the beautiful Confitemini', one which had been set to music by Luther himself, and by Walther and Senfl. 18. Where Luther writes des Herren Werk, Schütz employs des Herren Lob. This is perhaps explained by his use of Ps. 103, Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele, in conjunction with the return of the verse at the end of the second part. The contraction and modification of the passages from Pss. 34 and 111 suggests that he compiled his text here from memory, without reference to the exact wording at all: "Und der Herr antwortet mir, und half mir aus allen meinen Nöten". Then the beginning of Part Two: "Ich danke dir, Herr, von ganzem Herzen, denn du hast meine Seele von dem Tode errettet." The mixture of tenses might be regarded as the one flaw in the text, but it is required by the music. And the interesting thing is that Schütz was doing exactly what some of the psalmists had done so long before him: he was constructing a new psalm out of bits and pieces.

The composite word-weaving achieved by the three voices together, constitutes the characteristic excellence of the whole work. 19. As Schütz "der Lobende" makes his act of praise move towards the heightened statement of the final "Ich werde nicht sterben", it becomes a riotously merry threesome. 20. And it is altogether in the spirit of the psalmists, for whom deliverance from trouble and anxiety always issued in praise, praise following upon gratitude for divine intervention in answer to a call. It is well worth the trouble of comparing the textual structure of this Schütz Konzert with that of Bach's Cantata No. 21, Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis. Schütz, as his own librettist, is quite content to remain within an Old-Testament landscape; Bach's librettist, probably Salomo Franck, resorts to the mystical Christian interpretation of the Hohelied. In such a comparative study, the reason for both works being in two parts is likely to prove more elusive than is sometimes supposed.

One feels that Schütz, with his highly developed sense of German speech rhythms, was happier when setting the poetic prose of Luther's Bible than he was when composing to the metrical patterns of the hymn. This may account, in part at least, for the relative slenderness of his production in the sphere of the churchly chorale. Or he may have seen that the congregational hymn would be developed along more manageable and purely lyrical lines by the Ton-

94

der dei-nen Mund fröh - lich ma - chet, fröh - lich, fröh - lich ma - chet, fröh -

8 # #

99

- lich, fröh - lich ma - chet, fröh - lich, fröhlich ma - chet, daß du wieder jung wirst, daß du wieder.

#

105

jung wirst wie ein Ad - ler. Ich wer-de, Ich

(4) # (4) #

112

wer-de, ich wer-de nicht ster - ben. Ich wer-de, Ich wer-de, ich wer-de nicht ster - ben.

7 8 7 (11) 6

120

nicht ster - ben, son-dern le -

6 6 6

127

- ben, son-dern le -

4 6 6

dichter. 21. However that may be, there is in the Geistliche Chormusik of 1648 one number which calls for special notice in this regard. It is the lovely six-part motet on Martin Schalling's Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, o Herr. The Geistliche Chormusik, appearing in the year of the peace, when the religious lyric generally was passing from Luther's 'we' to Paul Gerhardt's 'I', was dedicated to the Leipzig Council and the choir of the Thomaskirche. In it, "the important process was completed by which the Gabrieli pupil became German again ... The fundamental attitude has become a serious, simple and plain-spoken Lutheranism, which places itself joyfully and unequivocally at the service of the community of the living Church." Here is music which "represents in its unobtrusive polyphony something which, in kind and power, is eternally German". 22.

Notes:

1. Fritz Strich, Deutsche Klassik und Romantik, München, Meyer und Jessen, 1928, 114: Wohl liegt auch Luthers Werk die schärfste Antithese zugrunde. Der Bau auf diesem Grunde aber stellt die Lösung her, und der Mensch wurde wieder Bürger dieser Welt, auf Erden heimisch und gerade dadurch seiner geistigen Mission zurückgegeben. Er kann den Gedanken an Tod und Vergänglichkeit, an Staub und Asche und Verwesung von sich weisen. Denn er hat die Gewissheit der Sündenvergebung durch die Gnade und den Glauben, und dass der Tod den Stachel und den Sieg verloren habe.

2. Blume, 75: Das Volk verlor die direkte Beziehung zum Wort, die ihm im Gemeindelied geschenkt worden

(f)

Als : dann vom Tod er : wek : ke mich, daß

Als : dann vom Tod er : wek : ke mich, daß

ei : nig Qual und Pein ruh'n bis am jün-g-sten Ta : ge. Als : dann vom Tod er : wek : ke mich, daß

ei : nig Qual und Pein ruh'n bis am jün-g-sten Ta : ge.

ei : nig Qual und Pein ruh'n bis am jün-g-sten Ta : ge.

ei : nig Qual und Pein ruh'n bis am jün-g-sten Ta : ge.

ei : nig Qual und Pein ruh'n bis am jün-g-sten Ta : ge.

Als :

(g)

mei : ne Au-gen se : hen dich, in

mei : ne Au-gen se : hen dich, daß mei : ne Au-gen se : hen dich in

mei : ne Au-gen se : hen dich in

Als : dann vom Tod er : wek : ke mich, daß mei : ne Au-gen se : hen dich in

dann vom Tod er : wek : ke mich, daß mei : ne Au-gen se : hen dich in al : ler Freud, o Got : tes-sohn,

Als : dann vom Tod er : wek : ke mich, daß mei : ne Au-gen se : hen dich,

(h)

al : ler Freud, o Got : tes-sohn, mein Hei-land und Ge : na : den : thron. Herr Je : su

al : ler Freud, o Got : tes-sohn, mein Hei-land und Ge : na : den : thron. Herr Je : su

al : ler Freud, o Got : tes-sohn, mein Hei-land und Ge : na : den : thron. Herr Je : su Christ,

al : ler Freud, o Got : tes-sohn, mein Hei-land und Ge : na : den : thron. Herr Je : su

Herr Je : su

Herr Je : su

Christ, er = hö = re mich, ich will dich prei = sen e =

Christ, er = hö = re mich, ich will dich prei = sen e = wig =

er = hö = re mich, er = hö = re mich, ich will dich

Christ, er = hö = re mich, ich will dich prei =

Christ, er = hö = re mich, ich will dich prei = sen e = wig = lich, prei = sen

Christ, er = hö = re mich, er = hö = re mich, ich will dich prei = sen

⁽ⁱ⁾

= wig = lich, herr Je = su Christ, er = hö = re mich, ich will dich

lich, herr Je = su Christ, er = hö = re mich, ich will

prei = sen e = wig = lich, herr Je = su Christ, er = hö = re mich, er = hö = re mich,

= sen e = wig = lich, herr Je = su Christ, er = hö = re mich, ich will dich

e = wig = lich, herr Je = su Christ, er = hö = re mich,

e = wig = lich, herr Je = su Christ, er = hö = re mich, er = hö = re mich, ich

prei = sen e = wig = lich, ich will dich prei = sen e = wig = lich.

— dich prei = sen e = wig = lich, ich will dich prei = sen e = wig = lich.

ich will dich prei = sen e = wig = lich, ich will dich prei = sen e = wig = lich.

prei = sen e = wig = lich, prei = sen e = wig = lich, ich will dich prei = sen e = wig = lich.

ich will dich prei = sen e = wig = lich, ich will dich prei = sen e = wig = lich.

will dich prei = sen e = wig = lich, ich will dich prei = sen e = wig = lich.

war ... Luther selbst hatte das Tor zu dieser Entwicklung geöffnet, als er die kirchlichen Zeremonien wie die überlieferte Kunst und das weltliche Leben nicht verwarf und verurteilte, sondern eine "Vergeistigung und Verklärung" des weltlichen Lebens, der Kunst und der Zeremonien von seiner Lehre her, eine "Weltfrömmigkeit" (F. Strich) wollte ... Das Ergebnis der Entwicklung ... war eine verhängnisvolle Spaltung der Gemeinde nach Stand und Bildung, nach Stadt und Land; mit ihr bot das Luthertum dem Calvinismus die breiteste Angriffsfläche, ihr verdankt die reformierte Kirche ihre zunehmenden Erfolge in Deutschland.

3. Strich, 115: Diese Überwindung der Antithese von Gott und Welt und Ewigkeit und Augenblick musste einen Goethe, auch in der Zeit, da er ganz in der Antike lebte, dem Protestantismus geneigt erhalten. Diese Heiligung der Welt und diese Verweltlichung des Heiligen, die "Weltfrömmigkeit" mit einem (Goetheschen) Worte, musste ihn gewinnen.

4. Reese, 358-359.

5. See under Dachstein and Greiter.

6. Reese, 502.

7. See under Melissus and Lobwasser.

8. Walter Blankenburg, Vorwort, V : Nur in diesem Werk hat sich Schütz der Form des schlichten Kantionalsatzes bedient. So steht der Psalter in seiner Einfachheit und Schlichtheit in seinem Schaffen allein da.

9. Vorwort, III : Alte Kirchenliedweisen übernimmt Schütz da, wo Cornelius Becker auf eigene Umdichtungen verzichtet hatte -

Ps. 12 :	<u>Ach Gott, vom Himmel</u>	Luther / anonymous (1524)
Ps. 14 :	<u>Es spricht der Unweisen Mund</u>	Luther / Luther (?) (1524)
Ps. 31 :	<u>In dich hab ich gehoffet</u>	Adam Reissner / Calvisius (?) (1584)
Ps. 46 :	<u>Ein feste Burg</u>	Luther / Luther (1529)
Ps. 51 :	<u>Erbarm dich mein</u>	Erhart Hegenwalt / Walther (?) (1524)
Ps. 67 :	<u>Es wollt uns Gott</u>	Luther / anonymous (1525)
Ps. 103 :	<u>Nun lob, mein Seel</u>	Johann Graumann / Kugelmann (?) (1540)
Ps. 124 :	<u>War Gott nicht mit uns</u>	Luther / Walther (?) (1524)

- Ps.127 : Wo Gott zum Haus Johann Kolross /
anonymous (1535)
Ps.128 : Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht Luther
Ps.130 : Aus tiefer Not Luther / Luther (?) (152
Ps.137 : An Wasserflüssen Babylon Wolfgang Dachstei
Dachstein (1525)

Blankenburg lists these twelve titles (III, footnote I), and adds: Dass Schütz nur 11 alte Melodien nennt, ergibt sich daraus, dass der Psalm 128 nach der Weise des Psalm 12 wie vielfach im 16. Jahrhundert gesungen werden soll.

Moser, 451: The only case in which Schütz actually replaced an old melody was that of Luther's Ps.128 which had already been given four new melodies by others.

10. Blume, 89: Die Texte waren dünnblütig, und der gewaltige Heinrich Schütz war kein Melodieerfinder. So blieb auch dieser Versuch im grossen ganzen ergebnislos.

11. Moser, 453.

Hoffmann, 19: Nirgends hat die Harmonik die Aufgabe, den Text zu interpretieren oder ihm zu grössere Eindringlichkeit zu verhelfen, das tut allein der lebendige, aus der affektgeladenen Sprache gewonnene Rhythmus der Oberstimme. Der Choral Schützens ist ein durchaus erregend dramatisch gestaltetes Lied. Auch die wenigen Psalmen auf alte Kirchenliedmelodien ... betonen den rhythmischen Charakter.

12. Bukofzer, 89.

13. Becker Psalter, VII, Widmung der ersten Ausgabe: - so habe ich es bey denselbigen nicht alleine billich gelassen / sondern meines theils / thue ich jhnen hierüber noch vielmehr dis öffentliche Lob vnd Zeugniß geben / das etliche deroelben ich mehr von den Himlischen Seraphinen zu Lob jhres Schöpfers / als von Menschen erticket halten thue.

14. Vorwort, V : - dass seine Melodien zumeist für den Gemeindesang ungeeignet erscheinen. Sie sind dafür nicht einfach genug, weil sie zu reich bewegt sind. Das ist jedoch kein Mangel, sondern vielmehr liegt darin die Eigenart und Bedeutung gerade dieses schlichtesten Schützenschen Werkes. Allerdings hatte dieser Umstand zur Folge, dass der Becker-Psalter niemals auch nur annähernd so volkstümlich werden konnte wie der bekannte Lobwasser-Psalter in Verbindung mit den vierstimmigen Sätzen von Claude Goudimel.

15. Moser, 528: Schütz crowns the second part with a hymnus on the theme God and his people in sore distress. Glance back to his preface of 1639, where he hopes that "the arts now strangled by weapons and trodden in the soil might again be raised through the grace of God to their dignity and value".

16. Moser, 564: Ps. 68, Es steh Gott auf. It is a religious battle piece with scarcely an equal. One might say that Schütz mirrors the fate of his time with the desire for peace in one's heart, while being pursued by the fanaticism of the most terrible of all religious wars.

17.

Part I.

Ps. 118 17:

Ich werde nicht sterben, sondern leben, und des Herrn Werk verkündigen.

Ps. 116 3:

Stricke des Todes hatten mich umfassen, und Angst der Hölle hatte mich getroffen; ich kam in Jammer und Noth.

Ps. 34 5:

4. Aber ich rief an den Namen des Herrn: O Herr, errette meine Seele.

Da ich den Herrn suchte, antwortete er mir, und errettete mich aus aller meiner Furcht.

7. Da dieser Elende rief, hörte der Herr, und half ihm aus allen seinen Nöthen.

Part II.

Ps. 111 1:

Ich danke dem Herrn von ganzem Herzen ...

Ps. 56 14:

Denn du hast meine Seele vom Tode errettet, meine Füße vom Gleiten, dass ich wandeln mag vor Gott im Licht der Lebendigen.

Ps. 103 2:

Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele, und vergiss nicht, was er dir Guts gethan hat.

3. Der dir alle deine Sünde vergibt, und heilet alle deine Gebrechen.

4. Der dein Leben vom Verderben erlöst, der dich krönet mit Gnade und Barmherzigkeit.

5. Der deinen Mund fröhlich macht, dass du wieder jung wirst, wie ein Adler.

18. Blume, 6: Dass er mit den Regeln des mehrstimmigen Satzes vertraut war und sie korrekt und in bescheidenen Grenzen schöpferisch anwenden konnte, zeigt die vierstimmige Psalmmotette, "Non moriar sed vivam" ... Der Tenor-cantus firmus (8. Psalmton der Introituspsalmodie, tonus maior, den auch Senfl und Walter für ihre Motetten über diesen Text benutzten) wird wenig koloriert einmal durchgeführt ...

19. Hoffmann, 47-49: Überwältigend aber ist schliesslich die fast trunkene Fröhlichkeit von Singstimme und Instrumenten in der folgenden Stelle: "der dein Mund fröhlich machet" ... Hier entsteht aus dem Wort ein fröhliches Jubilieren, das von den Instrumenten aufgegriffen wird, so dass alle Stimmen ausgelassen durcheinander wirbeln. Die Fülle dieser melodischen Einfälle, die zu jeder Textzeile neue Musik bringen, ist wiederum nur zu verstehen aus dem Wunsche, ganz dem Wort zu dienen, um in der grössten Beschränkung und Konzentration des Ausdrucks diesem Wort zu seiner ihm gemässen Bedeutung zu verhelfen ... Das elementarste Verhalten von Musik zur Sprache ist hier in einer einmaligen und vollendeten Weise zur künstlerischen Formung gestaltet.

20. Hoffmann, 41: Die Gliederung und Gestaltung der Form wird ganz den Instrumenten zugewiesen. Sie greifen die Thematik der vorangegangenen Gesangstimme auf und runden dadurch, dass sie das soeben vom Sänger Gebrachte wiederholen und also vertiefen, jeden Block in sich ab. So werden die beiden Instrumente, in diesem Fall zwei Geigen, auch zu Singenden - ja die Erfahrung bei der Interpretation lehrt, dass die Geiger ihren technisch gar nicht einmal sehr schwierigen Part erst dann richtig zu phrasieren und zu gestalten vermögen, wenn sie die dazu gehörigen Textworte wissen und so gleichsam auf den Geigen den Text noch einmal bringen!

21. Moser, 454: Schütz's Becker Psalms as yet know nothing of the isometric smoothing-out of the chorale melody which occurred during the course of the seventeenth century, in part since the publication of the Praxis pietatis melica of Johann Crüger - a transition to mass singing accompanied by the accentless organ, and an indication of the canonization of congregational singing, which came to be viewed as the orthodox method of rendering the chorale.

22. Moser, 580 and 583.

Hoffmann, 75: Schütz ist wohl zwar dem Denken Luthers verbunden, er gestaltet auch als gläubiger Christ, doch spüren wir sein persönlichstes Anliegen nicht

nur, wenn er seine Choräle, den Becker-Psalter, aus eigener Not heraus komponiert, sondern auch, wenn er die Realität des Christus und seines Evangelisten in höchst persönlicher Weise darstellt. ... Bach hingegen überträgt in Wirklichkeit alle seine Aussagen ins Objektive. Er lebt vielmehr im orthodoxen Luthertum und objektiviert durch seine symbolreiche Musik die geistigen Gehalte aller Aussagen, ob es sich nun um Bibelwort, Choral oder zeitbedingte freie Dichtung handelt, im Dienst am Wort Gottes und am Evangelium.

3. J.S. BACH AND THE PSALTER

1685 - 1750

IT IS PROBABLY TRUE of Luther and Bach, and certainly true of the intermediate figures, that their deep significance can best be grasped if they are understood in German. But of Luther and Bach it may also be said that they do not necessarily have to be understood as Germans understand them. For they are both world figures, and any man, of whatever nationality, is at liberty to see them through his own eyes or hear them with his own ears, and to comprehend them in his own way. 1. "The soul of Luther will always remain a riddle. One may attempt to account for his actions as one pleases, ... but in the end certain elements of his character remain unfathomable by any rational plummet." 2. "Bach is on the whole the most universal of artists. What speaks through his works is pure religious emotion; and this is one and the same in all men, in spite of the national and religious partitions in which we are born and bred." 3.

In such a scanty analysis as this, little more can be done than to determine why the names of Luther and Bach are so closely linked, although the one was a sixteenth-century theologian and the other a master musician living in the eighteenth century. In the search for a reason, Weltfrömmigkeit and Weltoffenheit become increasing-

ly meaningful terms. Early Lutheranism, Luther's Lutheranism, was left wide open to the pulsating, living influences of the world of men. 4. If the priesthood of believers meant anything, it meant this: that every mundane walk of life could be sanctified by faith, and that everything done in the common cause of drawing men closer to their Maker and Redeemer could be regarded as true Gottesdienst. This was not without its perils. It was a calculated risk accepted not only by Luther, but also by Bach, whose Lutheranism bore all the marks of Luther's. And by no means the slightest element of danger in it was the subtly sensuous power of secular music-making. How triumphantly this deliberate choice was vindicated, the Bach cantatas show. 5.

Orthodox Lutheran theology was Bach's spiritual home, the centre to which his most intimate thoughts always returned. Just as Luther gave to music a position of honour alongside the spoken Word, so Bach's chorale was an exposition of that Word, even when it was given out by instruments alone. Heinrich Schütz was able to make two violins sing the words of a text, with a human voice to help them. Bach was able to do more: he could make the voices of the organ interpret a text, or he could invest a single instrumental line with all the associations of a choral hymn. This constantly evident identification of Bach the musician with the Lutheran theology of the Word made him something of a stranger amongst his

contemporaries. 6. Yet the line of distinction was very finely drawn; for Lutheranism, by its very hallowing of the secular, admitted in a certain sense and to a certain degree the secularization of the holy.

The evangelical chorale gave Luther's gospel the voice of melody. 7. With the making of his Psalmlieder, he became 'a second David'. 8. This feeling for the past in Luther is met again in Bach: "The grandest creations of the chorale from the twelfth to the eighteenth century adorn his cantatas and Passions. Handel and the others make no use of the superb treasures of chorale-melody. They want to be free of the past. Bach feels otherwise; he makes the chorale the foundation of his work." 9. And the psalm-chorales, as an expression of Lutheranism's religious affinity with the past, speak with authority in Bach's music. But in addition to these he makes free use of the psalms themselves, in the classic German of Luther's Bible translation.

For a proper appreciation of his musical standpoint, these facts are important. At a time when philosophic thought was beginning to exercise its audacious prerogative of independence, Bach spent his energies and his genius on a re-statement of man's religious response to the self-revelation of God. Musically, then, he was "a terminal point. Nothing new comes from him; everything merely leads up to him." 10. While he was thus recapitulating what was old,

many other men were groping for security in the bewilderment of all that was new. And when Gellert offered it to them, they hailed him as the seer-psalmist of a New Psalter, failing to see that they had no need of a new one. 11.

It is sometimes necessary to correct in our own minds the impression left by stories about 'old Bach'. As if, like some antiquated latecomer in the modern world, he had subscribed to an outworn creed, refusing to open his eyes to what was going on round about him. Bach was twenty-nine when, in 1714, he wrote Cantata No. 24, Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis; and the only chorale to find a place in it was the work of the youthful Neumark. Moreover, there was nothing that this eager young writer of music for the Church did not already know about the expressive possibilities of the Italian operatic aria and duet. It is held by some that, here in particular, he was altogether too dramatic.

The elegiac sinfonia with which the cantata opens "reproduces, one would suppose, for the listener of those days, a faithful picture of the soul in despair." 12. Yet perhaps this takes too little notice of a change in the text of the first chorus, where Luther's "aber deine Tröstungen ergötzen meine Seele" becomes "erquickten meine Seele". The preceding verses demand close attention:

If the Lord had not helped me: it had not failed but my soul had been put to silence.

But when I said, My feet hath slipt: thy mercy, O Lord, held me up. 13.

The whole meaning of the penitential psalm is contained in these lines. Even in a present experience of consolation and uplift, there is always implicit the cry for renewal by an act of grace through all life's tomorrows. And surely this is the characteristically Lutheran justification for Bach's rather too insistent Baroque duetto at the beginning of the second part? :

{Ach ja! ich bin verloren.
{Ach nein! du bist erkoren.

Of special importance in this connection are Spitta's observations on the section which culminates in the fugal chorus at the end of the first part: "This whole movement is a sort of echo or reminiscence of the past emotions, such as we find in the music to Ps. 130, and in certain parts of the Actus tragicus." 14. Similarly, the multitudinous sorrows of the *sinfonia* and the first chorus are recollected sorrows, sorrows of the centuries, musically imagined and personalized. Whatever the preacher for the day may have made of the sermon in between the two parts, Bach's music possesses its own unity; for even in the return to sorrows and the repeated approach to confidence, it is faithful to the pattern and the spirit of the Penitentials. Only in the duet does the risk of Bach's acceptance of theatrical forms become almost strikingly apparent. And even in this, the risk is really no greater than that run by the company of writers who had transformed Solomon's Song into a song of the Heavenly Bridegroom.

The chorus which follows the duet is sheer magic, not least by reason of the way in which it unifies the two parts through the introduction of Neumark's chorale in augmentation; first in the tenor, "Was helfen uns die schweren Sorgen?", and then in the soprano:

"Dank nicht in deiner Drangsalhitze,
Dass du von Gott verlassen seist."

Musical inspiration could go no further than this, for the chorale takes over the mood of the concluding chorus of the first part, "Was betrübst du dich, meine Seele?" So that, in fact, Bach is superimposing on the longing of Ps. 42 the steady optimism of Pss. 37 and 55, and upon all this the recovered peace of Ps. 116, in its expression of gratitude to the God of escapes from death:

Return, O my soul, to thy rest, for Yahweh
hath dealt bountifully with thee ...

I will walk before Yahweh in the land of
the living. 15.

From that point on, the individual soul can rejoice: "Erfreue dich, Seele ... es brennet und flammet
die reineste Kerze der Liebe".

And in the final allegro, Bach the Lutheran calls up the full resources of choir and orchestra for the Alleluja shout that finishes on a quaver for every instrument and voice at once. Then sudden silence. But notice how he does it: solo voices, in ascending order from bass to soprano, announce the theme, "Leb. und Ehre. und Preis. und Gewalt sei unserm Gott von

Adagio

Ob.

Vi.

Vla.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Fg.

Org.
e Cont.

mei-nem Her - zen, in mei-nem Her-zen; a-ber

mei - nem Her-zen, in mei - nem Her-zen; a-ber

küm-mer-nis in mei-nem Her - zen, in mei-nem Her-zen; a-ber

hat-te viel Be-küm-mer-nis in mei-nem Her - zen; a-ber

9 8 6 6 7 6 5 7b

7 6 4 2

Vivace 40

Ob.

VI.

Vla.

S.
dei-ne Tröstungen er-quicken mei-ne See - - - le, mei-ne See - le,

A.
dei-ne Tröstungen er-quicken mei-ne See - - - le, mei-ne See - le,

T.
dei-ne Tröstungen er-quicken meine See - - - le, meine

B.
dei-ne Tröstungen er-quicken meine See - - - le, meine

Org.
e Cont.

b 7 6 6

5

S. Je - su. und er - quik - ke mich mit dei - nem Gna - den blik - ke, mit

B. Gna - den - blik - ke, mit mei -

Org. e Cont.

7 7b 7 7 7 7b 6 7b

S. dei - nem Gnaden - blicke!

B. - nem Gna den - blik - ke!

Org. e Cont.

9 6b 7b 6 5 4 3

CORO

Oboe

Violino I

Trombone I

Violino II

Trombone II

Viola

Trombone III

Soprano

Alto

Tenore

Basso

Fagotto

Trombone IV

Organo e Continuo

Solo

Tutti

Sei nun wieder zu - frieden, zu - frie - den, mei - ne See - Solo

Sei nun

Sei nun wieder zu - frie - den, mei - ne

6 6 8 7 7 6 6 6 7 5

S. le, seinun wieder zu - frieden, zu - frie - den, mei - ne See - le, zu -

A. wieder zu - frie - den, mei - ne - See - le, zu -

B. See - le, seinun wieder zu - frie - den, mei - ne

Org. e Cont.

8 6 7 1 4 8 8 6 6 7 6 6

5 2 2

S. frie - den, mei - ne See - le, seinun wieder zu - frie - den, seinun

A. frie - den, mei - ne See - le, meine See - le, seinun wieder zu - frie - den,

T. Was hel - fen es, uns die schwe -
Was hilft es, daß wir : l

B. See - le, seinun wieder zu - frieden, zu - frie - den, seinun wieder zu -

Org. e Cont.

7 5 7 1 6 6 7 1 6 6 7 1

5 2 2

S. wieder zu - frie - den, mei - ne See - le, mei - ne See -

A. mei - ne See - le, zu - frie - den, zu - frie - den, mei - ne See -

T. ren Sor - gen, was
le Mor - gen, be -

B. frie - den, mei - ne See - le, zu - frie - den, mei - ne See - le, seinun

Org. e Cont.

6 7 5 6 7 8 6 7 6 6 6 7 5

4 3 2 3 6 6 6 5 5

Wirkkeit zu Wirkkeit." This is the master touch of one who knew and cared what Luther's priesthood of believers was all about. Then, at the full bass entry, strings, and cbs, and a three-part chorus of trumpets join in. Yet even the close of this splendid movement does not satisfy the demands of the second part without its apocalyptic introductory chorus, "Das Lamm, das erwürget ist". 16.

The tenor aria preceding the last chorus of Cantata No. 21 finishes thus: "Weil Jesus mich tröstet mit himmlischer Lust". Nothing further is needed to explain Cantata No. 161, Komm, du süsse Todesstunde. And a moment's thought is enough to realize why Franck omitted any reference to psalm texts, when making up the libretto. Bach's anticipation of death was a joyous thing. It was not an echo of the seventeenth century's preoccupation with eternity, but rather the living voice of his whole active personality, making serenely beautiful music in the most secret places of his mind and heart.

This cantata is mentioned here for two reasons, both connected with Bach's use of what has come to be known as 'the Passion Chorale'. The melody alone enters quietly, given out by the organ. It is so completely unexpected, and so entirely independent of the solo alto voice being accompanied by flutes, that it steals into the mind only gradually. But when it does, the effect is electrifying; for the listener

involuntarily supplies it with words: "Herzlich thut mich verlangen!" And he becomes aware that Bach is symbolically identifying himself with the countless company of the faithful; that he has universalized a purely inward experience.¹⁷ Not only that: the individual listener will perhaps hear other words as well, those of Gerhardt's ultimate and perfect consecration of a once-secular melody. But the embellished Phrygian chorale, sung by the chorus at the end of the work, makes it clear that Bach was thinking primarily of Christoph Knoll's hymn:

"Und leben ohne Not,
in himm'l'scher Freud' und Wonne.
Was schad't mir dann der Tod?"

In Cantata No. 1 Bach employs, differently again, a chorale belonging by right of inheritance to the Lutheran community: Nicolai's Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern, based on Ps. 45. Here a mature and incredibly versatile 'master of the notes' is in festal mood. ¹⁸ There is also a formidable aria for the tenor soloist, the almost impossible demands of which result in one of the most ecstatic individual acts of praise ever made in song. It is worthy of note that this difficult music embodies the thought of psalm after psalm: "Praise the Lord, o my soul, and all that is within me praise his holy name." All, indeed! "The Lord is King, the earth may be glad thereof". Let every tenor that hath breath enough, keep on praising the Lord! (For,

Fl.

A.

Org.
e Cont.

speist aus des Lö - wen Mun -

2 6 6 6 6 5

Fl.

A.

Org.
e Cont.

de, komm, du - sü - ße To - des - stun-de, komm, du - sü - ße To - des -
(Sesquialtera ad Organo)

2 6 7 6 6 5

Fl.

A.

Sesqu.
ad Org.

Org.
e Cont.

stun - de, du - sü - ße - To - des -

5 6 7 8

Fl.

A.

Sesqu.
ad Org.

Org.
Cont.

stun-de, da - mein Geist Ho - nig speist aus des Lö - wen Mun-de, aus des -

6 6 4 3 2 4

(17)

Fl.

VI.

Vla.

S.
A.
T.
B.

Cont.

himml' - scher Freud' und Won - ne. Was
 himml' - scher Freud' und Won - ne. Was
 himml' - scher Freud' und Won - ne. Was
 himml' - scher Freud' und Won - ne. Was

6 7 6 (8)

Fl.

VI.

Vla.

S.
A.
T.
B.

Cont.

schad't mir dann der Tod?
 schad't mir dann der Tod?
 schad't mir dann der Tod?
 schad't mir dann der Tod?

(6) 6 5 1

Cor.
 Ob. d. c.
 Vl. conc.
 Vl. rip.
 Vla.
 Cont.
 Cor.
 Ob. d. c.
 Vl. conc.
 Vl. rip.
 Vla.
 S.
 T.
 B.
 Cont.

Wie schön leuch -
 Wie schön leuchtet der Mor - gen -
 Wie schön leuch-

77

Cor.

Ob.d.c.

Vl.conc.

Vl.rip.

Vla.

S.
tet der Mor - - - gen - - -

A.
Wie schön leuch - tet der Mor - gen - stern, der Mor - gen -

T.
stern, der Mor - gen - stern, wie schön leuch - tet der Mor - gen - stern, der Mor - gen -

B.
tet der Mor - gen - stern, der Mor - gen - stern, wie schön leuch - tet der Mor - gen -

Cont.

6 6 6 7 4 7
4 3 3

Vl. conc.
 Vl. rip.
 Vla.
 Cont.

Vl. conc.
 T.
 Cont.

Herz und Sin - nen sind er - ho - ben. le - bens-

110
 Vl. conc.
 T.
 Cont.

lang mit Ge - sang, gro - ßer

Vl. conc.
 Vl. rip.
 Vla.
 T.
 Cont.

Kö - nig,

120

VI. conc.

VI. rip.

Vla.

T.

Cont.

dich zu lo - ben. le - bens -

p

as if once through were not enough, Bach writes Da Capo).

Schweitzer cites Cantata No. 1 amongst several notable for their 'particularly fine tenor numbers'. In No. 104, Du Hirte Israel, höre, it is the bass aria which commands special attention. The cantata was composed in 1725, to a libretto by Christian Weiss, for the second Sunday after Easter. It is important to remember this. The whole work stands in direct relationship to an Epistle about sheep returning to their shepherd, after having wandered away; and to a Gospel in which Christ assumes the title of Good Shepherd, distinguishing between himself and the hireling who has no personal interest in the sheep.

The choice of Pss. 80 and 23, to express this in musical symbolism, is singularly appropriate. Ps. 80 describes Israel at a time of national calamity. "The psalmist is convinced of Yahweh's special relation to Israel ... He cannot believe in the final desertion of the people ... But this poet is one who feels rather than thinks, ... and he can simply turn back to the Shepherd of Israel with his faith unshaken." 19. This was precisely Luther's course, when he was most concerned for the safety of his people. 20. And this is what underlies the reiterated cries of "höre! er-scheine!" in Bach's pastoral chorus.

But then Bach the mystic becomes absorbed in the individual soul's response to redemptive grace. A tenor

recitative asks: "Was nützen meine Sorgen? ... Gott ist getreu." The aria following suggests both the loneliness in Ps. 42 and the 'valley of the shadow' in Ps. 23. Then comes the dennoch which certain of the psalms have made so familiar, and in the bass recitative and aria, die Wüste is transformed into die Weide:

"Beglückte Heerde, Jesu Schafe,
die Welt ist euch ein Himmelreich".

The importance of this remarkable line can scarcely be overstressed. Already in the recitative, the voice of the bass soloist had become a collective voice, offering up a collect for the living, whose lives must all be rounded with a sleep:

"Ach! sammle nur, o guter Hirte,
uns Arme und Verwirrte."

Only if the bass solo sections are understood in this way, can the full wonder of the mein in the four-part chorale be felt. The words are the only ones Bach appears to have taken from Cornelius Becker's Psalter, and they are set to a melody which binds them to the confessional past: an adaptation made in 1539 of the ancient Easter plainsong, Gloria in excelsis Deo, Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr. At once the musical significance of the last few bars of the great choral pastorate is made clear:

"Erscheine, der du sitzt über Cherubin".
21.

These few examples, taken from amongst many,

VI. *p*

Vla. *p*

B. noch des Glau - bens Lohn und hof - fet noch des Glau -

C. 5 6 # 0 5 5 7 #

VI. *ppp*

Vla. *ppp*

B. - bens Lohn nach ei - nem sanften To - des - schla -

C. 5 6 6# *ppp* 6# 6# 5 7 6 7 5

VI. *pppp*

Vla. *pppp*

B. - fe, nach ei - nem sanften To - des - schla - fe.

C. 6 6 # 7 5 6 8 9 5 9 5 7b 7 *pppp* 7 5' 5'

Da Capo.

Nº6. CHORAL. Melodie: „Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr.“

Soprano.
Oboe I., Violino I.
col Soprano.

Alto.
Oboe II., Violino II.
coll'Alto.

Tenore.
Taille e Viola.
col Tenore.

Basso.

Continuo.

Der zur Herr ist mein ge - treu - er Hirt, dem
Weid' er mich, sein Schaf - lein, führt, auf

ich mich ganz ver - trau - e; zum fri-schen Was-ser leitt er mich, mein'
schö-ner, grü-ner Au - e; Taille.

Seel' zu la - ben kräf - tig - lich durch's sel' - ge Wort der Gna - den.

are sufficient to show the depth of Bach's sympathetic feeling for the old-world texts he set to music, giving them what is, after all, their rightful place within the new covenant of David's Son. Even in the cantata Komm, du süsse Todesstunde, there is a psalm in the background, since the chorale melody was connected also with Gerhardt's Befiehl du deine Wege. So with every chorale used by Bach in this way; each one had associations which grappled it to the continuous life of the Church. Into whatever mystical secrecy the individual soul might withdraw, he was careful that it should never become dissociated from the Lutheran statement of faith. It was perhaps in the organ chorale preludes that Bach the theologian enunciated these tenets with the highest mystery of perfection. "For me", the Frenchman Widor wrote, "Bach is the greatest of preachers." 22.

This fugitive appreciation can not be considered in any sense adequate or complete until it has given some account of Bach's music to Pss. 130 and 46, the De profundis and the Feste Burg, the first and the last of Luther's songs of the Psalter. Already in Mühlhausen, as far back as 1707, he had written Cantata No. 131, Aus der Tiefe rufe ich, Herr, zu dir. "It is a passionate and youthful work which does not yet know the broad sweep of arias and choral movements of the Leipzig days." 23. That is one point of view; there are others. 24. The text is from Luther's Bible translation of

Ps. 130, and Bach's setting consists of three choruses, accompanied by an orchestra of strings, oboe and bassoon only. In between are placed a bass arioso and a tenor aria, but neither of these solo voices is left to itself for long. Against the first, a soprano sings the words of the second verse of Bartholomäus Ringwaldt's hymn, Herr Jesu Christ, du höchstes Gut: "Erbarm dich mein in solcher Last". It is surely more than coincidence that the anonymous melody (1593) bears a distinct resemblance to (?) Walther's setting (1524) of Hegenwalt's Erbarm dich mein, O Herre Gott, on Ps. 51, 'the great Penitential'. Against the other, an alto voice sings verse 5:

"Und weil ich denn in meinem Sinn,
Wie ich zuvor geklaget,
Auch ein betrübter Sünder bin ..."

What strikes most forcibly here is that the mein of the New-Testament chorale has the stronger confessional associations. 25. The aria corresponds to the psalmist's 'I wait' and 'I hope'. Then, when the Hebrew poet makes his plea for national solidarity, Bach breaks into the closing number with the challenging three-fold choral cry: "Israel, Israel, Israel, hoffe auf den Herrn."

Cantata No. 38, Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir, begins with the first verse of Luther's early Psalmlied and ends with the last. One cannot help wishing that Bach had been content to leave Luther in the middle as well. This

4

Soprano

Basso

so du-willst, so du-willst, Herr, Sün-de zu-rech-nen,
 if Thou, Lord, if Thou, Lord, dost mark our in-i-qui-ties,

o o a b + o o ob o ob a b

7

(Melodie: "Herr Jesu Christ, du höchstes Gut.")

Er barm dich mein in
Have pi ty on my

so du_willst, so du_willst, Herr, Sün de zu rech-nen, so du_willst, so du_
if Thou, Lord, if Thou, Lord, dost mark all our fail-ings, if Thou, Lord, if Thou,

6 6 7 6 5 6 6 5

[illegible]

13

The musical score is written on two staves. The top staff is for the voice, and the bottom staff is for the guitar. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The score is divided into four measures. The first measure contains the lyrics 'so du willst Sün - de zu - rech - nen, Herr, wer wird be - ste - hen,'. The second measure contains the lyrics 'if Thou dost mark all our fail - ings, Lord, who then can face Thee.'. The third measure contains the lyrics 'nimm and sie take aus from'. The fourth measure contains the lyrics 'aus from'. The guitar accompaniment consists of a series of chords and single notes. The chords are indicated by numbers 6, 6, 9, 5b, 6, 7, 6, 6, 6, 5. The lyrics are written below the guitar staff.

so du willst Sün - de zu - rech - nen, Herr, wer wird be - ste - hen,
if Thou dost mark all our fail - ings, Lord, who then can face Thee.

nimm and sie take aus from

6 6 9 5b 6 7 6 6 6 5

(4. Arie mit Choral)

Alto 10

Tenore 3

Continuo

4 6

Mei - ne See - le war tet, mei - ne See - le
Here my soul is wai ting, here mysoul is

8

war tet, mei - ne See - le war tet auf den
wai ting, here my soul is wai ting for the

11/33

Und weil ich denn in
auch ein be trüb in
A mi se ra ble
My ev il deeds l

Herrn, mei - ne See - le war - tet auf den Herrn, auf den Herrn, mei - ne See - le war -
Lord, here my soul is wai - ting for the Lord, for the Lord, here my soul is wai -

14/36

mei - nem Sinn,
Sun - der bin
sin - ner l
tes ti fy.

tet, war tet auf den Herrn,
ting, wai ting for the Lord,

1) In Originalpartitur nicht mehr erkennbar

is "one of the few later cantatas in which the first chorus is of the Pachelbel Choralvorspiel type, without independent orchestral opening," 26. and having the form of a chorale motet. Bach's intention, in this rather solemn and severe music, can perhaps best be understood in the line: "Was Sünd und Unrecht ist getan", from the later of Luther's two versions. 27. The one and only aria which the cantata contains is thought to be an insertion, taken from some other work. The reason for Bach's having put it where it stands is obvious enough, but it is somehow out of character with the chorus. There follows a soprano recitative, in the accompaniment of which the chorale melody appears, with one rather striking chromatic change. Between this and the four-part chorale is a trio of considerable charm; the text speaks of a breaking dawn of consolation, to the transforming brightness of which the still rather startling first chord of the chorale undoubtedly refers. All these things are presumably derived from the "Morgenwache" of the psalmist. And the whole mood of the cantata, from the second number onwards, is really dictated by Luther's mention of the Good Shepherd - a characteristic addition to the thought of the psalm itself.

Between them, these cantatas stress both aspects of the Lutheran teaching on repentance, as do the two organ chorale preludes in the Clavierübung. The first of

Recitativo a Battuta

Soprano

Bässe u.
Cembalo

Ach! Daß mein Glan.be noch so schwach, und daß ich mein Ver.trau.en auf
O nould my faith were not so weak! Would that my trust well-grounded up -

seichtem Grunde muß er.bau.en. Wie of.te müs.sen neu.e Zei.chen mein Herz erweichen! Wie
on a rock se.cure were founded! How oft are marks and signs vouchsafed me that God is with me. What?

kennst du dei.nen Hel.fer nicht, der nur ein ein.zig Trostwort spricht, und gleich er.
Canst thy sa.viour not dis.cern? One word a single word He — speaks and quick is

scheint, eh dei.ne Schwach.heit es ver.meint, die Ret.tungs.stun.de. Ver.
heard be.fore thy weak.ness is de.clar.ed the hour — that saves thee. So

trau.e nur der Allmacht Hand und sei.ner Wahr.heit Mun.de.
trust in God's Almigh.ty hand, and on His pro.mise stay thee!

Choral

(6) Soprano

Ob bei uns ist der Sün-den viel, bei Gott ist vielmehr Gna-de, Er ist al-
sein Hand zu hel-fen hat kein Ziel, wie groß auch sei der Scha-de.
How great soe' er our sin may be, God's grace can still re-lease-us, Shepherd of
His hand will ever out-stretched be, e'en though our sins are griev-ous.

Ob bei uns ist der Sün-den viel, bei Gott ist viel mehr Gna-de, Er ist al-
sein Hand zu hel-fen hat kein Ziel, wie groß auch sei der Scha-de.
How great soe' er our sin may be, God's grace can still re-lease-us, Shepherd of
His hand will ever out-stretched be, e'en though our sins are griev-ous.

Ob bei uns ist der Sün-den viel, bei Gott ist viel mehr Gna-de, Er ist al-
sein Hand zu hel-fen hat kein Ziel, wie groß auch sei der Scha-de.
How great soe' er our sin may be, God's grace can still re-lease-us, Shepherd of
His hand will ever out-stretched be, e'en though our sins are griev-ous.

Ob bei uns ist der Sün-den viel, bei Gott ist viel mehr Gna-de, Er ist al-
sein Hand zu hel-fen hat kein Ziel, wie groß auch sei der Scha-de.
How great soe' er our sin may be, God's grace can still re-lease-us, Shepherd of
His hand will ever out-stretched be, e'en though our sins are griev-ous.

Tutti

col' octava ad libitum

12

lein der gu-te Hirt, der Ps-ra-el er-lö-sen wird aus sei-nen Sün-den al-len.
souls and true is He, who Is-ra-el will swift set fri from sin and ev-ery tres-pass.

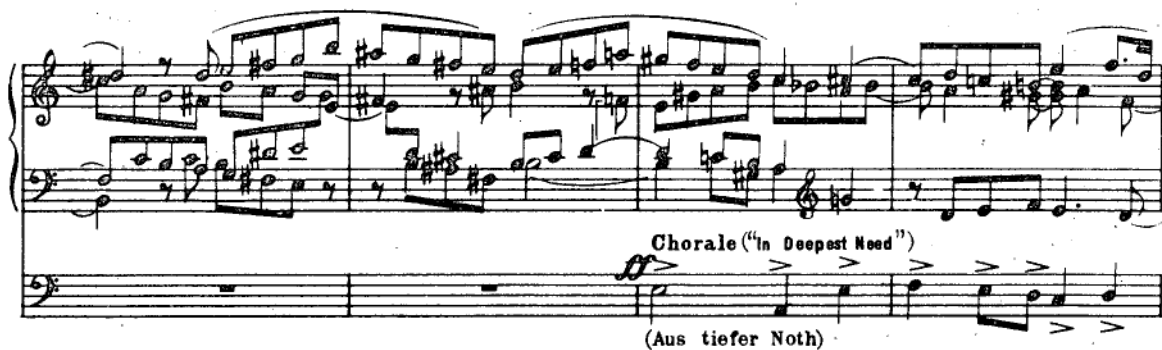
lein der gu-te Hirt, der Is-ra-el er-lö-sen wird aus sei-nen Sün-den al-len.
souls and true is He, who Is-ra-el will swift set fri from sin and ev-ery tres-pass.

lein der gu-te Hirt, der Is-ra-el er-lö-sen wird aus sei-nen Sün-den al-len.
souls and true is He, who Is-ra-el will swift set fri from sin and ev-ery tres-pass.

lein der gu-te Hirt, der Is-ra-el er-lö-sen wird aus sei-nen Sün-den al-len.
souls and true is He, who Is-ra-el will swift set fri from sin and ev-ery tres-pass.

these, written in six parts with a double pedal line, seems to be absorbed in the world's sombre problem of pain and sorrow, until the entry of a new rhythmical figure, signifying the hope of liberation. The second, with no pedal line at all, is quite different; it is an intimate and emotionally expressive treatment of the chorale, in which Bach's thoughts "turn to his favourite image of a tender, compassionate Christ"; in which "he paints the hearer of the petition, not the sufferer on earth". 28. Here Bach's music echoes something of the joy of Luther's own insight into the meaning of penitence. 29. That Mendelssohn was able to make of such a melody a song to match the strength of the Feste Burg, is proof of how firmly it underlay the entire fabric of Luther's Reformation structure.

Bach went to some lengths to remind German Protestantism of this in the great Reformation Festival cantata, No. 80. In exactly the spirit of Luther, the bass recitative-and-arioso brings Pss. 46 and 130 into the closest possible relationship, through the Christocentric interpretation given to each. 30. Without prior contrition for his own misdeeds, as Luther taught, and without justification by faith in the efficacy of a divine act of redemption, no man-at-arms can fight with the forces of Yahweh. In Bach's cantata, as in early Lutheranism, there is a strong emphasis on the importance of the individual; in the tenor recitative-



and-also this is very clearly shown:

"Tritt freudig an den Krieg!
Wirst du nur Gottes Wort so hören als bewahren,
so wird der Feind gezwungen auszufahren."

There could be no army of the living God without each of its enlisted men; there could be no massed song of certainty without the "Herr, höre meine Stimme" of Ps. 130.

Ein feste Burg is a battle-song, and so is Ps. 46. But we should not lose sight of their apocalyptic meaning. The Hebrew prophetic vision saw world catastrophe as the prelude to a golden renewal of the earth. Yahweh Zebaoth himself would establish the reign of his heavenly Messiah, breaking the warfare of turbulent peoples, and imposing peace upon the ruin of their defiance. Bach's cantata brings out in no uncertain terms the martial elements in Luther's song, for Bach was a fighter. 31. But his ultimate greatness, both as man and musician, lay in his inward peace. To Schweitzer, who knew him so well, he was 'a Comforter', whose counsel for living was this: "stille sein, gesammelt sein". 32. The final counsel of Ps. 46 is the same:

"Seid stille und erkennet, dass ich Gott bin".

Cantata No. 80 made one of a group of three jubilee performances conducted by Bach at the celebration in 1730 of the two-hundredth anniversary of the Augsburg Confession. Each of these works was a re-arrangement of an earlier one. In the case of Ein feste Burg, the original music was

written in or about 1716 at Weimar, to words by Salomo Franck. It bore the title Alles, was von Gott geboren, and was intended for use on the third Sunday in Lent. A point of great significance here is that, of eight numbers in the 1730 cantata, six already belonged to music proper to the penitential season. It is quite wrong to suppose that Bach hurriedly added two festal choruses (Nos. 1 and 5), simply to meet the requirements of a special occasion. We should rather realize the singular appropriateness of what he had previously written, to such an event. Franck's text was based on the casting out of a devil by Christ, an incident related by St. Luke, the beloved physician. So that the appearance of Luther's melody with the second stanza of his hymn, "Mit unsrer Macht ist nichts getan", was natural and right. This verse was re-set by Bach for the Reformation cantata. He also moved the words of the earlier four-part chorale to an opening chorus, and made another chorus (No. 5) out of verse 3: "Und wenn die Welt voll Teufel war." The final chorale was then given the words of Luther's verse 4: "Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn."

Of the composition in its later form Arnold Schering writes: "It is clear that, in a feeling of closest affinity with the Reformer, Bach has collected all possible material and spiritual means to express in music the symbol of Protestant faith." 33. Through the two added choruses,

(Melodie: „Ein feste Burg“)

Tba. I

Tba. II III

Timp.

Ob. I II

zu 2

Vi.

Vla.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vc.

ed Org.

Vlnc.

fen, ein fe-ste Burg — ist un-ser

fen, ein gu-te Wehr — und Waf —

Gott, ein gu - te Wehr und Waf -

Gott, ein gu - te — Wehr — und Waf - fen,

4 4 3

30

Tba. I

Tba. II III

Timp.

Ob. I II

Vi.

Vla.

S.
Gott, ein gu - te Wehr und Waf -

A.
- fen; ein fe - - - - - ste Burg ist

T.
- - fen, ein gu - te Wehr und Waf -

B.
ein gu - te Wehr und Waf - fen;

Vo.
ed Org.

Vln.

8 7 6 4 6 4 2 7 6 7 4

10

Tba. I

Tba. II III

Timp.

Ob. d'am. I

Ob. d'am. II

Tle.

Vi.

Vla.

S. e A.

T. e B.

Cont.

Und

8b 7b

Ob. d'am. I

Ob. d'am. II

Tle.

Vi.

Vla.

S. e A.

T. e B.

Cont.

wenn die Welt voll Teu - fel wär,

8b 8b

Nº 8. Corale "

S. Das Wort sie sol - len las - sen stahn und kein Dank da - zu
Er ist bei uns wohl auf dem Plan mit sei - nem Geist und

A. Das Wort sie sol - len las - sen stahn und kein Dank da - zu
Er ist bei uns wohl auf dem Plan mit sei - nem Geist und

T. Das Wort sie sol - len las - sen stahn und kein Dank da - zu
Fr ist bei uns wohl auf dem Plan mit sei - nem Geist und

B. Das Wort sie sol - len las - sen stahn und kein Dank da - zu
Er ist bei uns wohl auf dem Plan mit sei - nem Geist und

Cont. Das Wort sie sol - len las - sen stahn und kein Dank da - zu
Er ist bei uns wohl auf dem Plan mit sei - nem Geist und

S. ha - ben. Neh - men sie uns den Leib, Gut, Ehr', Kind und Weib, laß
Ga - ben. Neh - men sie uns den Leib, Gut, Ehr', Kind und Weib, laß

A. ha - ben. Neh - men sie uns den Leib, Gut, Ehr', Kind und Weib, laß
Ga - ben. Neh - men sie uns den Leib, Gut, Ehr', Kind und Weib, laß

T. ha - ben. Neh - men sie uns den Leib, Gut, Ehr', Kind und Weib, laß
Ga - ben. Neh - men sie uns den Leib, Gut, Ehr', Kind und Weib, laß

B. ha - ben. Neh - men sie uns den Leib, Gut, Ehr', Kind und Weib, laß
Ga - ben. Neh - men sie uns den Leib, Gut, Ehr', Kind und Weib, laß

Cont. ha - ben. Neh - men sie uns den Leib, Gut, Ehr', Kind und Weib, laß
Ga - ben. Neh - men sie uns den Leib, Gut, Ehr', Kind und Weib, laß

10

S. fah - ren da - hin, sie ha - ben's kein Gewinn; das Reich muß uns doch blei - ben.
fah - ren da - hin, sie ha - ben's kein Gewinn; das Reich muß uns doch blei - ben.

A. fah - ren da - hin, sie ha - ben's kein Gewinn; das Reich muß uns doch blei - ben.
fah - ren da - hin, sie ha - ben's kein Gewinn; das Reich muß uns doch blei - ben.

T. fah - ren da - hin, sie ha - ben's kein Gewinn; das Reich muß uns doch blei - ben.
fah - ren da - hin, sie ha - ben's kein Gewinn; das Reich muß uns doch blei - ben.

B. fah - ren da - hin, sie ha - ben's kein Gewinn; das Reich muß uns doch blei - ben.
fah - ren da - hin, sie ha - ben's kein Gewinn; das Reich muß uns doch blei - ben.

Cont. fah - ren da - hin, sie ha - ben's kein Gewinn; das Reich muß uns doch blei - ben.
fah - ren da - hin, sie ha - ben's kein Gewinn; das Reich muß uns doch blei - ben.

the chorale melody stands out unassailable and serene. First, "a gigantic choral fugue, in the style of Pachelbel. Each of the separate fugues ends with a canon with the theme in augmentation, reaching from the pedal trombones of the organ to the trumpets of the orchestra." 34. And then, in the chorale fantasia (No.5), "the whole chorus sings the cantus firmus in unison, while the orchestra plays a whirl of grotesque and wildly leaping figures, through which the chorus makes its way undistracted and never misled." 35.

Twenty years afterwards, Bach dictated his last music, an organ chorale fantasia on the melody sung to Paul Eber's hymn, Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen sein. Knowing that death was near, he instructed Altnikol to write above it the opening words of the hymn, Vor deinen Thron tret' ich allhier, for which the same melody was used. 36. How strange a thing it seems, yet how apt as a measure of Bach's universal stature, that this ethereal farewell music from so great a German should have as its source a French tune from the Genevan Psalter. 37.

Notes: 1. Smend, 48: Luther und Bach, beide sind Deutsche. Es ist nicht menschliches Verdienst, sondern Gottes Gnade, dass er diesem Volk die beiden Männer schenckte.

Und wenn sie beide in ihrem Wesen unbestreitbar deutsche Züge tragen, so legt das unsern Volk nur um so grössere Verpflichtung auf.

2. Rife, 640.

3. Schweitzer, I, xii : From Charles Marie Widor's preface to the German edition, 1908.

4. Smend, 38: Dies Luthertum nimmt nun aber eine ganz bestimmte und dem Mittelalter unbekannte Haltung der Welt gegenüber ein. Luther hat der Welt ihren echt weltlichen Charakter zuerkannt. Dieser weltlich gewordenen Welt gegenüber ist Luther und das Luthertum aufgeschlossen, es ist weltoffen. Und auch in diesem Wesenszug ist Bach Erbe des Reformators.

5. Smend, 38: Sicherlich bedeutet dies immer ein Wagnis, indem es unter Umständen den kirchlichen Charakter der Gottesdienst-Handlung gefährdet. Wir sehen aber, dass man eben dies Wagnis zu Bachs Zeit noch einmal auf sich genommen hat.

6. Smend, 14: Was die neben Bach schaffenden Komponisten angeht, so sind sie, auch wenn sie geistliche Stoffe behandeln, zum grössten Teil der Verweltlichung anheingefallen, die diese Zeit bereits charakterisiert. Ja, gerade in ihrer Vertonung biblischer Gegenstände wird diese Verweltlichung besonders spürbar.

7. Smend, 24: Das Evangelium, das Wort Gottes, soll den Gemeinden ins Herz gesungen werden; ja auch die Lehre des Katechismus. Mit Gebet und Lobgesang soll die Versammlung der Gläubigen auf das gehörte Wort Gottes antworten. Niemand in den Jahrhunderten seit Luther hat diese Aufgabe so zu der seinen gemacht wie Johann Sebastian Bach ... Der Choral wird bei ihm schon musikalisch-künstlerisch das Fundament seines Werkes. Ohne Kenntnis des Chorals ist es aber auch in seinem Gehalt unverständlich. Denn Text und Ton gehören hier auch dann zusammen, wenn die Choralmelodie wortlos, rein instrumental erklingt.

8. Geffcken, Einleitung, X: Luther trat hier als ein zweiter David auf, der zwar unter dem hebräischen Volke nicht der erste Psalmdichter war, aber doch nur wenige Vorgänger gehabt, und seinem Volke erst diesen erhabenen Schwung gegeben.

9. Schweitzer, I, 2.

10. Schweitzer, I, 3.

11. Kretzschmar, 240: Der glänzenden Russeren Entwicklung der Liedkomposition entspricht die innere zwar nicht, aber auch sie hat Lichtpunkte, den grössten in der Wiederbelebung des geistlichen Lieds, das lange verstummt schien. Erweckt hat es Gellert mit seinen Kirchenliedern, die, bis ins 19. Jahrhundert hinein, auf protestantischem Gebiete der neue Psalter wurden, aus dem die Texte für Motette, Hymne und Lied geschöpft wurden.

12. Arnold Schering's introduction to the Eulenburg Miniature Score, I, and IV: - was einem musikalischen Hörer von ~~Annals~~ das Bild einer verzweifelten Seele vor Augen rücken konnte.

13. Common Prayer, Ps. 94 17-18.

Luther's Bible: Wo der Herr mich nicht hülfte, so läge meine Seele schier in der Stille.

Ich sprach: Mein Fuss hat gestrauchelt;
aber deine Gnade, Herr, hielt mich.

The many moods of Ps. 94 are gathered into unity by the single subject of Julius Reubke's organ sonata, The 94th Psalm. Those sections which illustrate a vengeful God's destruction of the wicked in their own malice, would have pleased Ulrich von Hutten.

14. Spitta, I, 532.

15. Oesterley, 476.

See Gryphius, Notes 24 and 27; also Thomas, 84, on Briegel's Geistliche Oden Andreas Gryphii: Briegel's texts, incorporating also two poems by Gryphius's son, Christian, are so arranged as to give the work features of a genuine song-cycle. Its unity is built around the theme of 'the peace of the spirit', the title of the seventh song. This is preceded by a series of tormented meditations on the ephemerality of life, and is followed with moving effect by supplications to God and meditation on the promise of grace - The music is given by Thomas, in Example 26. Several of the songs are based on psalm texts:

I. Domine, usque quo?

III. Psalmus CXX.

V. Tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis.

VIII. Tu extraxisti me de Ventris Matris
meae!

16. Schering's introduction, VI: Die oft bemerkte Ähnlichkeit der Stelle mit dem Anfang des vorletzten Chors aus Händels Messias ist auffallend und lässt die Frage offen, ob der grosse Zeitgenosse nicht doch Bachs Kantate gekannt hat. Andererseits darf man behaupten, dass Bachs Schlussfuge ihrerseits etwas vom Händelschen al fresco-Stil an sich hat.

Siegfried Ochs points out a less obvious musical similarity, in his account of a conversation with Brahms (Foreword to the Eulenburg Miniature Score of the Deutsches Requiem): "Tja, wenn's keiner hört, schadet's nicht viel. In den ersten Takten und im zweiten Stück können Sie's finden. Es ist ein bekannter Choral". And the chorale, Neumark's Wer nur den lieben Gott!

17. Arnold Schering's introduction to the Eulenburg Miniature Score: Der Sinn des Zitats liegt auf der Hand. Weiss man, dass für Bach der protestantische Choral stets als Symbol der Kirche selbst und ihrer Wahrheiten galt, so liesse sich dieser Sinn noch tiefer erfassen: in dem Zitat liegt der Hinweis darauf, dass die Todessehnsucht der Singstimme nicht nur persönlich-individuelle Augenblicksstimmung ist, sondern ihren Rückhalt im gesamten protestantischen Gemeindebewusstsein findet. Das blosse Dasein jener schönen Choralstrophe, so möchte man sagen, gibt der Solostimme Mut und Zuversicht, ihrerseits mit vollem Vertrauen dem Tod ins Auge zu sehen.

18. Arnold Schering's introduction to the Eulenburg Miniature Score, III: Das Fest "Mariae Verkündigung" ist nach altem Herkommen auch in den Leipziger Kirchen immer festlich begangen worden. Ausser der Morgensternkantate hat sich indessen keine weitere aus Bachs Feder für diesen Sonntag gefunden. Sie selbst entstammt seiner späteren Schaffenszeit (etwa um 1740), da Choralphantasien von der Art, wie sie der erste Chor darstellt, als Merkzeichen des älteren Bach zu gelten haben.

19. Oesterley, 369.

20. See Martin Luther, Note 34.

21. Blume, 196: Die Einheit der Werkes besteht in dem alle Sätze durchdringenden, überall vorwaltenden idyllisch-romantisierenden Pastoralbild. Der einleitende Chorsatz setzt die Grundhaltung. Zum Ende greift die Choralstrophe noch einmal den Grundklang auf.

22. Schweitzer, I, xii.

23. Hans Grieschkat's introduction to the Eulenburg Miniature Score, IV, and I: - ein leidenschaftliches Jugendwerk, das noch nicht die weit ausgeführten Arien und Chorsätze der Leipziger Zeit kennt.

24. Schweitzer, II, 126-127: On the whole, it is hard to tear ourselves away from these early works, which are the only ones that Bach wrote in the pure form of the old cantata. When he began to supply the regulation cantata for the church service at the Weimar Court, he decided in favour of the new style and wrote his music to the free texts supplied him by Salomo Franck and Erdmann Neumeister ... There is none of the animated alternation between solo and chorus that we find in the Aetna tranguis and the cantata Aus der Tiefe. Nor does the composer now try to cast the whole work into one mould; the cantata henceforth divides into separate numbers.

I, 80 -81: But just at this moment there springs up again the antique ideal of the co-operation of poetry and music in a dramatic representation of religious ideas. It bewitches Protestant church music ... The fatal thing is that Bach, as the child of his time, had to take part in this wandering, and kept groping after the true form of the cantata his whole life long.

25. Ziebler, 68: Die sich scheinbar ausschliessenden Gegensätze (subjektiv - objektiv) sind in eine beherrschende, allgemeine Gesamtstimmung eingefügt, das schwächliche individuelle Wesen der Arie an der starken Objektivität des Chorals gestärkt.

26. Parry, 284.

27. See Martin Luther, Note 25.

28. Whittaker, 80.

29. See Martin Luther, Note 10.

30. Ein feste Burg (No. 3) : Erwäge doch, Kind Gottes, die so grosse Liebe, da Jesus sich mit seinem Blute dir verschrieb, womit er dich zum Kriege wider Satans Heer und wider Welt und Sünde erworben hat. Gib nicht in deiner Seele dem Satan und den Lastern statt! Lass nicht dein Herz, den Himmel Gottes auf der Erden, zur Wüste werden! Bereue deine Schuld und Schmerz, dass Christi Geist mit dir sich fest verbinde.

31. Besch, 114: So spürt man, dass der Mensch

Bach nicht der biedere, zurückgezogene Bürger und der in einem engen Sinn "fromme" Hausvater war, sondern eine Kampfnatur, ein unbändiger, dithyrambischer Kraftquell, eine Gestalt von löwenhaftem Temperament ... Über dem als letztes der stille Glanz einer unendlichen Weiterkeit und Ruhe, eines wahrhaft-inneren Friedens lag.

32. Besch, 114. Quoting Schweitzer,
Bach - Umfrage.

33. Arnold Schering's introduction to the Eulenburg Miniature Score: Es ist offenbar: im Gefühl engster Wahlverwandschaft mit dem Reformator hat Bach hier zur Symbolisierung protestantischer Glaubenszuversicht alle nur denkbaren materiellen und geistigen Mittel der Tonkunst in eins zusammengefaßt.

34. Schweitzer, II, 245.

35. Spitta, II, 470.

Ziebler, 62: Das "unisono" ist von Bach meist als Symbol der Vereinigung der Gemeinde usw. in einem religiösen Gedanken gebraucht ... Die Wirkung des Gemeindegesanges ist hier zum Vorbild genommen. Deswegen findet es sich in dieser Bedeutung nur im vokalen oder instrumentalen Teil von Chören. Z.B. die Strophe der Reformationssonges "Und wenn die Welt voll Teufel wär", ... sozusagen das Schulbeispiel hierfür.

36. See Terry, II, Nos. 373 and 374.

37. Smend, 44: Zu Bachs entscheidenden Wesenszügen gehört seine Todesbereitschaft. Von den frühesten Kompositionen an, bis in seine spätesten Werke hinein, läßt Johann Sebastian immer und immer wieder die innersten Herzenstöne erklingen, wenn er von dem seligen Sterben redet. Erblindet auf seinem letzten Lager liegend diktiert er seinem Schwiegersohn seinen Schwanengesang. Das Lied aber von dem "betrübten Sünder", das er hierzu wählt, ist ... Ausdruck desselben Bekenntnisses, das Luther auf seiner letzten Fahrt in die Worte fasste: "Wir sind Bettler, das ist wahr".

Oxford History of Music, IV, Introduction 3: Handel sums up the eighteenth century, and in studying all but a very few exceptionally inspired pages of his works, we remain conscious of the full-bottomed wig, the lace ruffles, and all the various other details of his costume. It is only here and there that Bach brings a corresponding

image of himself before our minds, so constantly does he make us feel the presence of a spiritual, immortal beauty over which time itself has no power.

Röbbelen, 136-137: Denn für die reformatorische Lehre führt die Selbsterkenntnis des Menschen nicht nur zur Sündenerkenntnis, sondern für sie ist Selbsterkenntnis schlechterdings nichts anderes als Sündenerkenntnis ... Wie aber Christus, der Menschgewordene, nur in seinem Wort dem Glaubenden gegenwärtig ist, so wird dem Menschen Selbst - und Sündenerkenntnis auch nur im Glauben und durch das Wort zuteil.

Hans-Joachim Schoeps, Barocke Juden - Christen - Judenchristen, Bern und München, 1965, 114: Heute aber sind die Vorzeichen völlig anders, denn es ist eine andere Welt, in der wir leben. Und sie hat viele Unterschiede und Differenzpunkte, die die Gemüter damals so erregt haben, eingeebnet oder gar ausgelöscht, so dass Juden und Christen heute einander viel stärker angenähert sind. Mindestens im Negativen ist dies der Fall. Denn es ist doch so, dass Juden und Christen weithin in der gleichen Lage sind: nämlich der des Nichtglaubens.

MUSICAL EXAMPLES

1. Michael Praetorius (1571-1621): Geistliches Konzert, Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern (1619). Edited by Hans F. Redlich. Edition Eulenburg No. 1045, 4 - 5. Philipp Nicolai's chorale.
2. C.H.H. Parry (1848-1918): Blest Pair of Sirens. Milton's ode At a Solemn Music, set for chorus and orchestra. Novello's vocal score, 6 - 7.
3. Peter Cornelius (1824-1874): Liebe, dir ergeb ich mich (Op. 18, No. 1). Eight-part motet, translated from Scheffler's German by Mrs. R. Howard Krause, and edited for the Worcester Festival, 1905, by Ivor Atkins. Novello's Part-Songs, Second Series, No. 977, 10 - 11.
4. Carl v. Winterfeld: Martin Luthers deutsche geistliche Lieder, Hildesheim, 1966. Reprografischer Nachdruck der Ausgabe Leipzig 1840, 72 and 64.
5. Hans Leo Hassler (1564-1612): Vier Psalmen und Christliche Gesang, mit vier Stimmen auff die Melodeyen fugweiss componiert (1607). Edited by Ralf von Saalfeld. Bärenreiter-Ausgabe 95 (1949), 17 and 7.
6. Heinrich Schütz: Der Psalter. Nach Cornelius Beekers Dichtungen, für vier Stimmen und Basso continuo. Edited by Walter Blankenburg. Internationale Heinrich Schütz-Gesellschaft, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Band 6. Bärenreiter (1957).
Ps. 3 is included for its combination of 2/2, 3/2 and 4/2 rhythms, and for the striking resemblance of v. 2 to Pss. 130 and 46.
Ps. 137 is Wolfgang Dachstein's chorale.

7. Heinrich Schütz: Symphoniae sacrae II (1647).
Part II (SWV 347), 20-21. Deutsches Konzert
für Sopran oder Tenor, zwei Violinen und
Basso continuo. Edited by Werner Bittinger.
Bärenreiter 446 (1965).
8. Heinrich Schütz: Geistliche Chormusik (1648).
Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Band 5,
Motetten 1-29. Edited by Wilhelm Kamlah.
Bärenreiter 500 (1962).
19. Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, O Herr (SWV
387), 9-10. Martin Schalling's hymn.
9. J.S. Bach: Cantata No. 21, Ich hatte viel
Bekümmernis. Edited and with a Foreword by
Arnold Schering. Edition Eulenburg No. 1029.
Part I, 15-16, and Part II, 52-53.
10. J.S. Bach: Cantata No. 161, Komm, du süsse Todes-
stunde. Edited and with a Foreword by Arnold
Schering. Edition Eulenburg No. 1005, 2 and 30.
11. J.S. Bach: Cantata No. 1, Wie schön leuchtet der
Morgenstern. Edited and with a Foreword by Arnold
Schering. Edition Eulenburg No. 1012, 4-5 and
57-58.
12. J.S. Bach: Cantata No. 104, Du Hirte Israel, höre.
Edited by Siegfried Ochs. Edition Eulenburg
No. 1023, 42-43.
13. J.S. Bach: Cantata No. 131, Aus der Tiefe rufe ich,
Herr, zu dir. Edited and with a Foreword by
Hans Grischkat. Edition Eulenburg No. 1051,
12 and 25.
14. J.S. Bach: Cantata No. 38, Aus tiefer Not schrei ich
zu dir. Edition Breitkopf No. 6357, Vocal Score,
17 and 24.

15. Mendelssohn (1809-1847): Third Organ Sonata
(Op. 65). Edited by Edwin Lemare.
Schirmer's Library of Musical Classics,
Vol. 976, 35.
16. J.S. Bach: Cantata No. 80, Ein feste Burg.
Edited and with a Foreword by Arnold Schering.
Edition Bärenburg No. 1003, 3-4, 43 and 68.

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